A HISTORY OF KARNATAKA

Foreword

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A HISTORY OF KARNATAKA

(From Pre-history to Unification)

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KANNADA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, Karnatak University,
Dharwar. 1970

To

The millions and millions
of sons and daughters
of the past, present and future
generations of eternal Karnataka

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FOREWORD

It is a sound principle that the history of a country should be written by scholars who belong to it and having studied the subject properly are competent to present it with an unbiassed mind. Karnataka is an ancient land with a glorious history of more than fifteen centuries. It was renowned not only within the four boundaries of Indian sub-continent but also beyond, among the civilized nations of the world. Its achievements in several fields like polity, education, literature, social solidarity, religious harmony, art and architecture have elicited appreciation from the modern critics

With all this, it is a discouraging sight that a reader interested in the study of the history of this province, has in vain to turn his eyes on the shelves of our libraries for well-written standard works on this subject. This paucity of books on the history of Karnataka becomes more glaring at the present time when the number of our Universities is increasing and our University education is advancing rapidly. It is, therefore, necessary that our professors and scholars apply their mind to the task of bringing out more books in this discipline for the benefit of the University students and the general reading public.

As far as I know, the historians of the last generation created the wrong impression that the Karnataka dynasties like the Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas belonged to Maharashtra. Similarly, the founders of Vijayanagara are said to have hailed from Andhra. Such wrong statements create confusion leading to unhealthy repercussions even on political issues. Therefore, great responsibility lies on the historians of independent India, who should avoid such pitfalls.

In this situation, it is a matter of gratification that the members of the Department of Ancient Indian History and

Culture and Kannada Research Institute of this University, have undertaken the ambitious and onerous project of presenting the entire history of Karnataka, exhaustively in a series of about ten well-documented standard volumes.

The beginning is already made by producing this book. The present volume deals in a compact form with the history of Karnataka as a whole from the earliest pre-historic period to the present time ending with the unification of Karnataka in 1956. The account is illuminating, and though concise, it throws welcome light on many aspects of our history. It is hoped, this book will serve its useful purpose to the students and the scholars alike and provide incentive for further studies in the subject.

Dr. P. B. Desai who has accomplished this commendable task with exemplary zeal, strenuous work and thorough scholarship, deserves our thanks. So also his colleagues who have rendered him valuable assistance.

Karnatak University
September 15, 1970.

Dr. A. S. Adke
Vice-Chancellor

PREFACE

We take pleasure in placing before the student of history and the general reader this compact and concise volume on Karnataka history. Without laying claim to the comprehensive character of the account, we wish to point out that it deserves notice as a modest yet complete sketch of the subject within its limited circumference. Its range however is wide enough starting with pre-history and ending with the formation of the new Mysore State or Karnataka, the time span being about four thousand years.

It is a chequered narrative of a people emerging from the pre-civilized state into the civilized world, their evolution as an aggregated and cultured unit with distinctive features, their rise and ascent to the heights of political supremacy, their shining achievements in various fields, their decline and disintegration on account of political vicissitudes and lastly their revival as a united people and state once again in the modern age, at all times remaining an integral part of the great Indian nation.

II

It was the darkest period in the history of Karnataka before the turn of the present century, when the inhabitants of this land suffered from a grave misfortune. That they had no province of their own was clear enough. It was further presumed that they had no language, nor literature, much less history. Thanks to the researches carried on by earlier scholars like Fleet and Rice, sources of Karnataka history like inscriptions were brought to light in abundant numbers, and in the course of fruitful studies of decades it was revealed that Karnataka had not only history, but a glorious and enviable history, moving forward uninterrupted through several long centuries, beginning in the primitive past. Side by side with history, researches were carried

on in the cultural fields like language, literature, religion, art and architecture, which showed that the Kannada people had to their credit such high accomplishments as any civilized nation can take legitimate pride about them

These discoveries were made known by scholars through several writings, articles, monographs, treatises, introductions to volumes of source materials, etc As the researches were still going on and the discoveries had not yet reached the final stage, books on the history of Karnataka as a whole were slow in coming forth. There were difficulties and obstacles on the way. It was by no means a light task to piece together the vast epigraphical and other sources scattered over in numerous publications and press them into service. Some early attempts had been made to sketch the history of Karnataka in parts or some of its aspects, but they were found to be antiquated, inadequate and imperfect.

With the rapid growth of higher education during the recent decades, the urge for the study of Karnataka history and its introduction in our academic courses increased. But for want of proper books on the subject the educational authorities were greatly handicaped in their progressive plans.

Ambitiously planned and successfully executed, a comprehensive history of Karnataka, entitled *Karnataka Through The Ages*, has been very recently (1968) brought out by the Government of Mysore. It is a commendable, almost encyclopaediac work, running to nearly 1100 pages. However, the purpose it serves is more that of a compendium and reference book.

This, however, does not obviate the need of compact, critical and standard works on Karnataka history, that would be useful to the teachers in the higher and University courses of study. The researches in Karnataka history have now attained such an advanced and prolific stage that not one but seveal series of history books at different levels, planned on a variety of aspects like political, social, economic, religious and art, would be met

with warm welcome. The present work is an humble attempt and a beginning in this direction.

III

Karnataka history delineated here is not merely the political history, an account of the dynasties and the kings belonging to them, that ruled one after another. It is a portrait of the life and personality of a people who went through the process of historical developments in manifold phases during successive stages. Conveniently treating the ruling period of each dynasty as an epoch, the importance of such epochs in the cultural spheres also, besides the political one, is briefly indicated in the following order at the end of the account of each dynasty.

The last and the most magnificent in the series was the epoch of Vijayanagara. This was an important epoch not only within the narrow limits of Karnataka or South India, but also in larger dimensions within the extensive boundaries of Ancient India. Vijayanagara which stood for the protection of the religion and culture of the people of Ancient India, was truly national in character and spirit.

Successfully resisting the impact of foreign aggression Vijayanagara put off by more than two and a half centuries the process of transformation of South India from its ancient to the medieval phase as it happened earlier in the north. In the course of their conquering expeditions and invasions from the seventh to the fourteenth century the alien aggressors met with many a firm resistance and stiff opposition from the states and peoples in the west, east, north and south of this country. But with the sole exception of Vijayanagara none of them proved to be as effective and eventful as those of this power. In view of this importance the account of Vijayanagara here occupies more space than any other period of Karnataka history.

IV

GREATER KARNATAKA

The history of Greater Karnataka is as illuminating as the history of Karnataka proper. By Greater Karnataka we mean the

expansion of political sway and cultural impact of Karnataka in the regions outside and beyond her geographical boundaries Such an expansion was the result of military expeditions, political supremacy and powerful cultural factors like trade activities, religious faiths, philosophy, literature and art.

It is seen that of all the provinces of India, Karnataka was the only region which produced the largest number of rulers and governors, who, like the overflowing river, went out and settled in other regions as governors of provinces or founders of new dynasties that flourished there for considerable periods Noteworthy among such adventurers were the Gangas, the Kadambas, the Chālukyas, the Rāshṭrakuṭas, the Sindas, the Sēnas and Karnāṭas. Some of these are briefly noticed in our narrative (pages 211-14) It would be befitting to recall here a few more salient facts about such enterprising emigrants.

The Gangas who ruled in Orissa, are called the Eastern Gangas to distinguish them from the Western Gangas of Mysore region. The Eastern Gangas may be divided into three units. The earliest was the Gangas of Kalinga, founded by Indravarma about the end of the fifth century. Their capital was Kalinganagara, modern Mukhalingam in Ganjam district. A reckoning known as the Ganga Era is ascribed to this family. The rule of this house lasted till the tenth century. Another family of Ganga chiefs who were feudatories of the above, ruled in the same area from the sixth century. They are known as the Gangas of Śvētaka after their capital town bearing this name.

The Later Gangas or the Imperial Gangas were the third dynasty who wielded power from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. Anantavarma Chōdaganga (1078-1150 A. D.) was the greatest ruler of this family, in whose time the Ganga empire included the eastern territories extending from the river Gangā to Gōdāvarī.

An offshoot of the Kadamba family of Karnataka, known as the Eastern Kadambas, ruled as feudatories of the Eastern Gangas in the Ganjam area of Orissa in the period of the tenth and

eleventh centuries. Their capital was Jayantyāpura, evidently reminiscent of their home town of Banavāsi which was also called Jayantīpura.

More pervasive among the ruling families outside Karnataka were the Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakuṭas. Besides the imperial Chālukyas of Bādāmi and the long-lived Eastern Chālukyas of Vengī in Andhra, there were lesser rulers of the Chālukya stock exercising authority in the areas of Nāsik, Navasāri, Southern Gujarat, northern Andhra and Telangana. The last of them are known as the Chālukyas of Vēmulavāḍa.

The term Rāshṭrakūṭa was originally an office and official designation, connoting the chief or governor of a *Rāshṭra* i.e. tract. However, in course of time it became stereotyped as a hereditary family name. The ruling families bearing the designation Rāshṭrakūṭa some times indicate their early home to be Lātūr in Karnataka From this and other circumstances it is believed that the Rāshṭrakūṭas who prospered in other regions, were of Karnataka origion.

Far renowned among the Rāshṭrakūṭa houses was the imperial dynasty of Malkhēḍ in Karnataka. But Rāshṭrakūṭa families of lesser fame are found in other provinces. The instances are as follows: The family of Mānapura in the Satara area (c. 9th century), one in the Bihar province (9th century), the Gujarat branch of Rāshṭrakuṭas of Malkhēḍ (9th century); one in Orissa, another in Bihar (11th century), Rāshṭrakuṭas of Kanauj (11-13th centuries), the opinion is held in some quarters that the Rāṭhōḍs of Rajasthan were of Rāshṭrakuṭa extraction

The Sēnas of Bengal and the Karnāṭas of Mithilā are noticed elsewhere (pages 213-14). Nānyadēva (c 1097-1147 A.D), the founder of the latter dynasty, was succeeded by six members of his family, who ruled the kingdom of north Bihar. The last of them was Harisimha (c.1285-1334 A.D). In his time his dominions were conquered by the Muslim invaders. Hence, Harisimha had to leave for Nepal where he established his

suzerainty. His descendants ruled there for some time. The famous jurist Chaṇḍēśvara was the minister and general of Harisimha.

Lastly, we may recall here the expansion of the Hoysaḷa supremacy in the Tamil country and the sway of Vijayanagara over the Telugu and Tamil territories.

The above is a brief sketch of the political expansion of Karnataka.

V

EXPANSION AND IMPACT

In the wake of political expansion followed other influences and impacts some of which were cultural. We note a few of them here.

Inscriptions written in Kannada or in Sanskrit and other languages bearing the impress of Karnataka are found extensively in the present areas of Maharashtra, central India, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. These testify either to the former extent of the Kannada territories or the political sway of the rulers and governors of Karnataka.

Kannada epigraphs have been traced in the regions like Kolaba and Ratnagiri districts of the west coast. The existence of such records and the prevalence of Kannada in these coastal tracts till recently may be explained by the fact that this coastal strip was under the rule of the Kannada dynasties for nearly a thousand years from the time of the early Chālukyas till Vijayanagara, being also western extension of the Kannada land.

It is noteworthy in this context that Kannada was the major spoken language in the area of Bombay and round about as late as the nineteenth century. When the island of Bombay was taken over by the English in 1670 A. D., their laws were translated into Kannada for the benefit of the inhabitants of the

area. The civic address presented to Mount Stuart Elphinstone who was appointed Governor of Bombay in 1818 A. D, was written and read out in Kannada The Kannada character of the Śilāhāras and other minor ruling families of the coastal tract can easily be identified by the phenomenon of the expansion of Karnataka boundaries to the western sea.

This reminds us of the projection of Karnataka influence on the eastern sea board also. An inscription in the Ongole taluk of Nellore district, dated c 1442 A. D in the reign of the Vijayanagara monarch Dēvarāya II, describes the famous hill fort of Udayagiri as situated in the dominions of Karnataka

The system of dividing the country into administrative units of smaller or bigger size and calling them along with the number of villages contained therein was prevalent in Karnataka from a fairly early period, for instance, Banavāsi 12000, Pānumgal 500, Belvola 300, etc. Perhaps the earliest epigraphical allusion to this practice is that of the famous Aihole record which speaks of three Mahārāshtrakas bearing 99000 villages as having been conquered by Pulakēśi II As such a usage was not prevalent elsewhere, the mention of such geographical units with numerical figures in the medieval epigraphs of Gujarat and Malwa, points to the political influence of Karnataka

For recording the historical events in a chronological setting it is necessary to provide the facility of a reckoning of time from a fixed point. Such a need was realised at an early period by the rulers of Karnataka, who adopted the use of the Śaka era in their epigraphs. The Bādāmi cliff inscription of Pulakēśi I, dated Śaka 465 (543 A D), is a land mark in such a reckoning. Thus the authorship of popularising this era goes to Karnataka and through the rulers of this province it was introduced in other kingdoms. For instance, the Sēnas who belonged to Karnataka, carried this reckoning along with them to Bengal. Similarly, the Chālukya-Vikrama era inaugurated in 1076-77 A D. by the Western Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI, was given currency in regions outside Karnataka.

Distinctive titles and epithets associated with eminent personalities, carry great significance and force with them. They are often borrowed and imitated by persons aspiring for status and elevation It is interesting to note that many such titles originating in Karnataka, travelled to other parts and were displayed with pride The royal title Permāḍi or Hemmāḍi signifying eminent personality, attained great prominence in course of time, being owned by princes and dignitaries in many regions of South India It was Sanskritised as Hēmādri So was the name and epithet Ballāla glorified by the Hoysalas. This migrated even to distant Bengal. In Maharashtra even a deity is called Ballāla Gaṇapati Ballāla means 'the mighty'. The titles like *Rāyara-simha, Ammana-gandhavāraṇa, Guṇakke-nalla, Pusiyi-lladātı, Malev ıraq ıṇḍa, Jag ıdobbı-gaṇḍa, Antembara-gaṇḍa* and others, gained wide currency in northern India and Telugu and Tamil lands in the historic period. All these references are from epigraphs and this list can be multiplied.

The spirit of ambition and adventure which animated the people of Karnataka to establish great empires in their land and found settlements and kingdoms in the provinces outside, asserted itself in the sphere of big business also Intelligent merchants and tactful craftsmen of Karnataka built up guild organizations of their trades, industries and crafts There was a network of such guilds all over the country and they were under the control of a central corporation of Vīra Bananjus, designated Ayyāvole Five Hundred Inscriptions describe at length the activities of these businessmen who functioned not only throughout the entire territories of Karnataka, but even in other provinces and distant regions like southern Gujarat, Andhra, Tamil land, Malaya, Burma, Ceylon, Java and Sumatra.

VI

IMPACT OF CULTURE

Researches have revealed that the Kannada people had emerged as a territorial and linguistic entity before the third

century B. C as attested by the cerebralised sounds in the Aśokan inscriptions of Karnataka, which were subjected to the regional influence of Kannada language, and other evidences. It is further pointed out that the northern limits of Karnataka stretched as far as the river Narmadā and beyond and that there existed Karnataka settlements in many parts of North India These observations are based on anthropological and linguistic studies and investigations into the place names and pers nal names

Scholars like Sten Konow, M G Ranade and V. R Sindhe have proclaimed in unmistakable terms that the base on which Indo-Aryan structure of Gujarati and Marathi languages is built up is Dravidian This specifically must be its Kannada component. which was their nearest neighbour.

The basic cultural stratum of a region is often revealed by its place names whose origins go deep into the past. A number of place names having affinity with the expressions like *pāḍi*, *vāḍi*, *patti* and *hatti* are found in Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat and other provinces of North India They are to be derived from the ancient Kannada root *paḍu*, to stay, settle etc. Hundreds of place names like Kendūr, Kuḍāl, Malavli, Mudhōl, Śirōl, Śivanēri, Hatanur in Maharashtra have their roots in Kannada Karnataka's impact on Maharashtra is perceptible in social, religious and other cultural spheres Mallāri Mārtaṇḍa and Viṭhṭhala are widely popular national gods of Maharashtra Their beginnings, however, are found in Karnataka.

Karnataka culture traversed to the northern end of the land and made its impact in Kashmir also. In the matters of religious faiths and scholarly pursuits contacts developed between the two provinces The generosity and patronage to learning of the rulers and the people of Karnataka attracted Kashmirian poets and scholars to this country An eminent instance is that of Vidyāpati Bilhaṇa In his *Rājataranginī* Kalhaṇa narrates that some of the Kashmir kings like Harsha were influenced by the progressive attainments of Karnataka He also tells that the women of Kashmir were enamoured of and imitated the fashions of Karnataka ladies.

Religious faiths and philosophical thoughts flowed from Karnataka to other regions. Śṛingēri was an important seat of Śankara's school in Karnataka and this monastic centre substantially contributed to the propagation of his doctrines. Basavēśvara's movement attracted devotees from distant provinces like Kashmir, Gujarat and Kerala and his followers are spread over in Maharashtra, Andhra and Tamil Nadu.

Madhva Ānandatīrtha, the founder of the Dvaita school of Vaishṇavism hailed from South Kanara. His disciple Narahari Tīrtha took the lead in propagating this faith in northern Andhra and Orissa. This teacher acted as regent and administered the kingdom of the Eastern Gangas for twelve years (1279–90 A. D.), when Narasimha II, the successor of Bhānudēva I was a minor. This Bhānudēva (1264–79 A. D.) changed his ancestral Śaivite faith in favour of this new Vaishṇavite doctrine. The successor princes of this dynasty continued to be ardent followers of this creed. In consequence of the patronage of the rulers and the earnest activities of Narahari Tīrtha and his zealous disciples, Mādhva philosophy and religion became popular in Orissa in the 13th to 15th centuries.

Mādhva Vaishṇavism made its impress on the Chaitanya school of Vaishṇavism popularised by Kṛshṇa-Chaitanya (1486–1533 A. D.). Jīva Gōsvāmi was a disciple of Chaitanya and it is disclosed by the family traditions of the former that his early ancestor hailed from Karnataka. The tenets of the Mahānubhāva Vaishṇavite school preached by Chakradhara in northern Maharashtra and Gujarat in the later decades of the thirteenth century, were influenced by Mādhva Vaishṇavism. Thus, Karnataka's contributions through these faiths to the spread of Bhakti cult in many parts of India are vast and substantial.

Refinement of civilization and dignity of culture are best mirrored in the ideal of womanhood. We have noted above how the women of Karnataka were reputed for their reformist pattern of life, so as to influence their counterparts of remote Kashmir.

This observation receives further corroboration from the testimony of two other regions, viz. Rajasthan and Orissa.

In a record of 1428 A. D. the reputation of Hammīra, a famous Rajput king of Mewar, is said to be more immaculate than the laugh of God Śiva, white sandal, the moon and the shining white teeth of the Karṇāṭa ladies. While describing the spotless fame of his grandfather Kapilēndra in his *Śrīsarasvatī-vilāsa*, the Gajapati king Pratāparudra (c 1500 A. D), compares it with the white camphor, the autumnal moon and the amorously charming lustre on the face of the damsels of Karnataka. These compliments lavished on the enchanting form and unsullied character of Karnataka womanhood by outside observers are replete with cultural import

The aesthetic impulses and creative urge of the enlightened generations of Karnataka sought expression in manifold artistic channels, such as music, painting, sculpture and architecture. The last of these in particular, by its concrete form, impressive dimensions and artistic finery, reflects the lofty aspirations of the people.

It is acknowledged that the mellifluent south Indian melody familiarly known as Karnataka music, owes its origin to Karnataka. It was from this region that it went to Andhra and Tamil country, where it was sumptuously nourished.

In spite of the ravages of time and iconoclastic vandalism, a large number of temples of architectural magnificence, constructed from the time of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi to the Vijayanagara period have survived to proclaim the marvellous achievements of the Kannada people in this field It is significantly noteworthy that the Indian temple attained its complete form of architectural decoration for the first time at Aihole in Bijapur district, where early specimens of both north and south Indian temple are visible, justifying the description of this town as the birth-place of Indian art.

The Chālukyan art, according to some western critics is as fine and perfect as the finest art of early renaissance in Egypt or Greece. In the early as well as in the later phases, the temple architecture of Karnataka made its impact on the northern and southern architectural trends.

The contributions of Vijayanagara to the architectural expansion of South Indian temple complex are massive. The developmental activities inaugurated earlier by enlarging the dimensions, raising the elevation to abnormal height, multiplying the adjuncts and providing crowded decoration and profusion of sculptured scenes, were carried to the maximum limits during this period. A visitor to the grand temple of the Vijayanagara age is overpowered by its stupendous magnificence and transported to a new universe of supersensuos perception.

VII

GREATER INDIA

It is fairly known through Greek and Roman sources that from early times Karnataka had developed maritime trade contacts with the countries of the western world. Similarly, it is possible to believe that from an early period she had maintained business activities and cultural intercourse with the Southern and South-eastern regions of the Asian continent.

The history of Greater India constitutes a glowing account of the torch of civilization carried by the adventurous chiefs hailing from different parts of ancient India to the regions of Indo-China, Ceylon, East Indies and Indonesian islands. It is revealed by researches that some of these emigrants and colonists belonged to the areas of Karnataka.

A few stray expressions of Kannada affinity, like *paik* and *belanja* have been traced in the Malayan literature. The term *karṇakka* occurring in an old Javanese inscription in the context of a people has been identified with Karnataka. The famous

monuments at Borobudur and some early temples in Java betray the influence of the cave temples of the Deccan and the Chālukyan architecture of Karnataka.

Certain early inscriptions of Greater India engraved in Late Brahmi script and composed in verse reflect the style of the records of the early Kadambas of Banavāsi. The box-head trait of the early Kadamba epigraphs of Karnataka is conspicuous in the inscriptions of the rulers of Champa (south Annam). The use of the Śaka era in the records of Indo-China and Indonesia from seventh-eighth centuries, is yet another feature testifying to the impact of Karnataka in the territories of Greater India.

The evidence regarding the intercourse and influence of Vijayanagara on the regions of Greater India, is ample. Fernao Nuniz tells that the rulers of Pegu and Tennesserim in Burma paid tribute to Dēvarāya II. Between Vijayanagara and the south-eastern islands, Malaya and Siam, there existed maritime contacts and direct dealings in imports and exports Camphor, pepper and sandalwood, sulphur, deer-skins, etc. were imported from Borneo, Java, Sumatra and Siam respectively. The Vijayanagara ports on the eastern coast, in turn, exported varieties of cloths, iron, steel and other commodities.

It is interesting to note that the echoes of Vijayanagara are audible far off in the romantic tales of Malayan literature of the later period. For instance, the name of Vijayanagara is often met within different forms, such as Elephant City (Ānegondi), Bijayanagaram and Vijayanagaram. Likewise, the names of two Vijayanagara rulers can be spotted out in Narsinggam and Krishṇarāja.

We hope, the above brief sketch of the significant feature, of the personality and achievements of Karnataka, will create better understanding and arouse keener interest among our student community, the teaching fraternity and educationa authorities, regarding the vastness of her historical dimensions

and depths of her cultural contents. It is expected that this will further accelerate the pace of historical researches into Karnataka history in our Universities and research departments

We may at this stage disclose the future plans of this Department in respect of historical publications. We now propose to bring out in a comprehensive setting the entire history of Karnataka through a series of volumes, each concentrating on different dynasties or periods. The project, no doubt, is ambitious, and the task stupendous. But we hope to implement it with the enlightened patronage and generous support of the University authorities

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Acknowledgement

Ever since I took interest in the decipherment and study of Karnataka inscriptions over three decades ago, the idea of presenting a comprehensive history of Karnataka utilising all the minute details of information imbedded in them, dawned upon me. The history of the early period of Karnataka till the end of Vijayanagara is studded with thrilling events and the man sources for its reconstruction are epigraphical records which being contemporary and genuine, constitute by far the most trustworthy documents.

While serving in the Epigraphical Branch of Archaeological Survey of India later, my interest in the subject was intensifiedi The vast treasures of epigraphical collections, pertaining to Karnataka and other areas, that were easily available there for study, widened my vision and opened out new horizons of this field. Though I contributed many articles on many topics around this subject, the primary thought of writing a history of Karnataka remained a dream

The dream, however, began to take a concrete shape after I joined this University more than a decade ago. But I had

to tarry for its implementation until facilities were provided to proceed with the plan. These came about six years back when my Department was strengthened with proper personnel and financial support.

For bringing out authentic works on Karnataka history, a Karnataka History Committee was formed, later, consisting of the following members of the Department.

1. Dr. P. B Desai (Chairman)
2. Dr. B. R. Gopal, Reader (Secretary)
3. Dr. S. H. Ritti, Reader
4. Shri A. Mylar Rao, Research Assistant

Before launching upon the long term scheme of preparing the Comprehensive History Series, it was decided to bring out in the first instance a short and compact, yet complete history of Karnataka covering its entire range from prehistory to modern period until unification and formation of the new Mysore State (1956). This was considered absolutely necessary, the immediate need of the hour, since no such work had so far been attempted. A limited number of scattered articles and a meagre quantity of books affording partial glimpse had been intermittently published. But they were inadequate to meet the requirements of a complete view of the grand, up-to-date history of Karnataka.

With these preliminaries, the plan was chalked out and the work was apportioned. As a senior and experienced person who had sponsored the project and laid its guide lines, the overall responsibility of its effective execution devolved on my shoulders. For giving final shape to the draft material prepared by the members, and maintaining a uniform standard in the presentaion of the subject-matter, I had to revise, recast and add much new material wherever necessary. Ultimately, it is a joint and co-ordinated product.

Subsequently, when Shri Mylar Rao left to join the Mysore University, the remaining three members had to carry the load

of pushing the publication through. I am deeply beholden to my colleagues for their whole-hearted and valuable co-operation and assistance at all levels in bringing out this volume in the present form. Particularly noteworthy are the services of Dr. Gopal in this regard.

I express my sense of gratitude to Dr. D. C Pavate, former Vice-Chancellor and now Governor of Panjab, who appreciated my plan of Karnataka History and encouraged me to carry it out.

I am profoundly grateful to Dr. A. S. Adke, the present Vice-Chancellor who evinced keen interest in this work and furthered it by his generous patronage. In addition, he has blessed it with his weighty Foreword.

My heartfelt thanks go to Sri S. S. Wodeyar, broad-minded Registrar of this University, for his genuine interest and active support in our plans and projects.

Dr. (Miss) Leela Shantakumari prepared the Index and Shri R S. Desai contributed to the attractive get-up. I thank them.

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September 5, 1970

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CHAPTER I

A SURVEY OF THE SOURCES

The present work narrates the history of Karnataka from the earliest period to the modern times covering a period of about 3000 years. It is but natural that in the study of such a kind one has to make use of several sources of information which are varied in character Alberuni's comment that the Hindus did not pay much attention to the historical narration of incidents and were careless in relating their sequence, is true to the extent that for the historical study of ancient India there is dearth of genuine narrative accounts of history in the modern sense. It is, however, wrong to think either that the Indians did not possess the historical sense or that the historical knowledge was altogether wanting. The reason for this partial indifference to maintain historical records appears to be this The Indians did not attach so much importance to political events which they considered as transitory, as they did for matters of religion and philosophy which are concerned with the fundamental truths of life. Under these circumstances, it is from a patient and careful examination of the several source materials that are available, that the history of our country in general, and of Karnataka in particular, could be reconstructed. So far as Karnataka is concerned, we are fortunate in having abundant sources of information which reveal our past.

Broadly speaking, the sources can be classified as Archaeological and Literary. In regard to the modern period many a detail of information is obtained from the numerous historical documents and records pertaining to a variety of transactions, preserved in the state archives and private collections. Therefore we are not confronted with difficulties in presenting our history of the later times.

Pre-historic period

Knowledge of the life and conditions of men in the dim ages of the prehistoric past can be had from the systematic collection and scientific interpretation of the scattered artefacts, like the tools, weapons and pottery used by them as well as those found in archaeological excavations and their scientific interpretation. These relics alone have survived to tell their tale. We have yet to reveal a great deal about the life of man in the prehistoric period in the Deccan which is considered to be one of the oldest of geological formations. Excavations in the Indus Valley region brought to light the existence of the most ancient civilization of India, known as the Harappa culture That part of our country, where the two important sites of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and many others are situated, has now gone to Pakistan. However, recent excavations conducted in Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat have revealed that this culture was not confined to the north-western region only but had spread eastward and southward also. Vestiges of Harappa culture are now found at Lothal and other sites in southern Gujarat, and Rangapur and other sites in Uttar Pradesh.

Contact of this culture with Karnataka is indicated by the surmise that the gold found in the Harappan sites was imported from the gold mines of this region. Being one of the oldest spots on earth, the Deccan plateau appears to have attracted the premitive man to migrate and settle in this region and diffuse his culture. Excavations conducted in a few sites of Karnataka like Maski and Piklihāl in Raichur district, Tekkalakōta and Sanganakallu in Bellary district, T. Nararipur in Mysore district, Hallur in Dharwar district and Brahmagiri in Chitradurga district, have shown that the geographical and climatic conditions of this region were congenial to the prehistoric man. It is thus postulated that sometime in the 3rd millenium B. C., as a result of folk movement in the Iranian plateau, pastoralists first moved southwards *via* Arachosia into the Indus Valley and from there, later towards the Deccan

plateau, with which they might have had by then some trade contacts, as revealed by the specimens of pottery available in this region. A number of neolithic and megalithic sites have now been located in Karnataka as a result of explorations conducted by the Archaeological departments of the State and Central Governments as also institutions like the Kannada Research Institute of Dharwar and the Deccan College Research Institute of Poona. Scientific excavations of more of these sites may shed further welcome light on the prehistory of Karnataka.

Historic Period

Passing from prehistory to history, for the earliest historic period of Karnataka, literary tradition is almost the only source. Of the two epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the latter contains references to Karnataka. From this it is clear that Karnataka stood as a territorial unit from a very early period. An attempt is made in the following pages to present a sketch with the help of such literary traditions. The account, however, is meagre and wanting in precision, because the material is scanty and its chronological position uncertain

The history of Karnataka, like those of other parts of India, stands on a firm footing from the 3rd century B. C., whence a clear picture of the political horizon emerges, thanks to the Aśōkan edicts and other inscriptions that have now come to light.

Inscriptions—Their Merits :

The surest ground on which the history of our country could be reconstructed is the vast inscriptional material. More so in respect of Karnataka, where the inscriptions are available in large numbers, to the total extent of several thousands, quantitatively speaking, next only to the inscriptions of the Tamilnad. The inscriptions of Karnataka have enabled us to reconstruct much of our past from the point of view of political history, as

also its social, religious and cultural aspects including language, literature and art. Inspite of the fact that the inscriptions have their own limitations and do not always give us a correct and complete picture, still their value cannot be underrated. True, legend and metaphor have also sometimes found place in these records; yet, it is possible to shift the grain from the husk. As most of the inscriptions are dated or can be assigned approximate dates on palaeographical considerations and other internal evidences, they enable us to provide a sound chronology in respect of many ruling dynasties and important events connected with them. Although the object of most of the records was primarily to commemorate religious transactions like gifts to institutions or individuals or events like the construction of temples, installation of deities, demise of devotees and heroes etc., their authors found in it a welcome opportunity to introduce descriptions of the ruling king and his officials and to narrate their virtuous deeds; and if the composers were endowed with literary fervour, they would embellish them with poetic merit Thus, in fact, so far as Kannada inscriptions are concerned, a class of literature which might be termed literary inscriptions, came into existence and we know of several poets of great literary merit only through their inscriptional compositions It is interesting to note that the famous poets Ranna and Janna were also authors of such literary inscriptions.

A noteworthy feature of the Kannada epigraphical records is the large number of hero-stones or memorial slabs set up in almost every village to commemorate the martyrdom of persons who sacrificed their lives while heroically defending their hearth, home and honour against the aggressors. The historical details of the event are narrated in the inscriptions and depicted in sculptures carved in stone.

Taking an overall view, the inscriptions of Karnataka occupy a high place among the historical sources of ancient and mediaeval India. According to a very rough estimate, their number would be to the tune of thirty thousand strong. About half of them have so far been explored and published.

Thousands yet remain untapped and unfathomed. It is a matter of serious thought to note that a large number of Kannada inscriptions are found deep in the areas outside the present Karnataka or Mysore State, like Andhra Pradesh, Madras, Goa and Maharashtra. This is an indication of the shrinking of the political and cultural boundaries as a result of the historical forces that have adversely affected this province.

An important historical aspect of Kannada inscriptions is their sound chronology. More than other inscriptions, particularly those of South India, these records are of great value for chronological studies. They generally specify the years of the Śaka era and also of the cycle of sixty years, with months, days of the month and week-days alongwith notable occurrences. They state the regnal years of the kings, often combined with the above details. This system has proved to be of immense use in fixing the chronology of kings and dynasties with precision. Two outstanding instances may be cited in this connection. The Bādāmi cliff inscription of Pulakēśi I, dated Śaka 465, corresponding to 543 A. D., is the earliest inscription so far known to be clearly dated in the Śaka era. The Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi II is dated both Śaka 556 and Kaliyuga 3735 corresponding to 634 A. D. Thus they are important sources for the broader study of Indian chronology.

Absence of such a system has rendered it difficult to fix with certainty the chronology either of the Pallavas or of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi. As for the Chōḷa records, they have a characteristic way of describing the achievements of their rulers year after year. Such *praśastis* found in their epigraphs constitute historical enumeration of important events. Yet, even this method does not enable us to fix the chronology of Chōḷa rulers for want of other necessary details.

The inscriptions in general are conveniently classified into two groups, viz., those inscribed on stone, brick or similar hard material and those engraved on copper plates and other metals

like gold, silver, brass or bronze. The stone inscriptions are the largest in number when compared to the copper plate records; and those engraved on other materials and metals are few and limited. Inscriptions on stone are mostly in Kannada language and script, while the copper plate records are generally in Sanskrit language and Nāgari script.

The copper plate records which comprise mostly donative charters like title deeds given to individuals or to institutions are found in private custody. They bear the seal with the name of the king and the emblem of the dynasty to which he belonged. In some cases the sign-manual of the king appears at the end of the record as for instance, *svahastōyam mama Śrī Karkarāiasya, Śrī Kannaradēvasya* etc. The Vijayanagara kings commonly adopted for this purpose the name of their tutelary deity in place of their individual names and thus in the copper plate grants of these rulers we persistently find the sign-manual *Śrī Virūpāksha*, engraved invariably in Kannada script.

The inscriptions on stone, on the other hand, which usually register gifts to religious institutions like the temples or *maṭhas*, are in the nature of public announcements. The stone inscriptions may also comprise records of commemorative character relating the deaths of heroes in fights for a noble cause and grants made for the maintenance of the dependants of the deceased. Similarly, there are other sepulchral monuments of stone set up in honour of devout wives who committed self-immolation after the death of their husbands To this class belong the memorials called *nishidhis*, which speak of the pious devotees of the Jaina doctrine, who voluntarily courted death by fasting according to the religious rite of *Sallēkhana*. All the above categories of memorials contain besides the writing, sculptures in relief depicting the relevant episodes or scenes.

The essential part of the donative records is to specify details of the donors, the donees and the donations. Such donations were made either by the kings or their subordinate officials or provincial governors who were authorised to make

such grants. The records of this class registering such transactions cite the authority, specify the rank and jurisdiction of the donor and give details about himself and the ruler whose approval was secured for the grant.

Such accounts are commonly found in the introductory and earlier portions of the inscriptions where further information relating to the concerned authorities, particularly the ruling king and his family, their achivements etc., is added. The introductory passages containing such details, called *praśastis*, are common to all the records of a particular dynasty, with, of course, such additions and changes as were necessitated by specific cases. Such writings are therefore useful for reconstructing the historical account of the ruling dynasties. As the information thus furnished by the inscriptions is mostly reliable, these could therefore be treated as brief historical narratives.

Collection and Publication :

As early as 1796 Col. Mackenzie started copying inscriptions in Southern India with the help of an able staff and by the twenties of the 19th century he had collected about 9000 inscriptions. Similarly Elliott copied from various areas more than six thousand inscriptions. Many of these records were from the Kannada country. The credit however, of laying the foundations of intensive and extensive study of epigraphic records in Kannada and pertaining to Karnataka goes to the untiring efforts of J. F. Fleet and B. L. Rice.

These scholars almost simultaneously started the work of systematically collecting and publishing inscriptions, the former from the northern Karnataka areas in the then Bombay Province, and the latter from the old Mysore State. Fleet edited and published incriptions in Sanskrit and Kannada in a series of articles in the *Indian Antiquary*. Subsequently he incorporated the results of his researches in Karnataka history and epigraphy in a historical sketch, entitled *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*,

published in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II (1896). This is a monumental work critically presenting a history of Karnataka for the first time with the help of available inscriptional material. Rice conducted a thorough village to village epigraphical survey of the southern Mysore areas and published twelve volumes of inscriptions, arranged in the order of districts (1886 to 1904). These volumes contain historical introductions wherein the contents of important inscriptions included in the particular volumes are discussed. The *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* (1922) is the outcome of Rice's epigraphic studies, giving a brief account of the entire history of Karnataka. Recently three more volumes in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* series (Nos XIV to XVI) have been published by the Mysore Government.

Select inscriptions pertaining to Karnataka, critically edited, have appeared in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* from the year 1888 onwards. The Epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey of the Government of India has been conducting systematic epigraphical survey and collection in northern Karnataka since 1925 The inscriptions thus collected are being published in a series of volumes entitled *Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions*, included in the general series of *South Indian Inscriptions*. Three such volumes, viz., XI, XV and XX have been issued so far. Kannada inscriptions collected from the regions of Bellary and South Kanara and from the areas outside Karnataka proper like Andhra and Tamilnad have been published in the volumes, IV, VI, VII, VIII and IX of the Series.

The old Hyderabad Government and the present Andhra Pradesh Government have published monographs on Kannada inscriptions picked up in their territories. Thus their publications such as *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, Nos. V, VIII, XII, XVIII and *Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, Nos. III*, and *IX* contain a good number of Kannada inscriptions. The Kannada Research Institute which is now a constituent of the Karnatak University has published a good number of inscriptions from the old Bombay Karnatak area in five handy volumes. It

has continued the work of surveying the rich areas of North Karnatak. Individual scholars devoted to historical studies, like Prof. K. G. Kundangar, Dr. S. C. Nandimath and Dr. P. B. Desai have published Kannada inscriptions through entire volumes or piecemeal articles. Apart from other publications, noteworthy is Dr. Desai's critically edited *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Kannada Districts of Hyderabad.*

Aśōka to Vijayanagara :

The earliest inscriptions discovered in Karnataka are six versions of the minor Rock Edicts of Aśōka. They are at Maski and Koppaḷ in Raichur District and at Brahmagiri, Siddāpur and Jaṭinga Rāmēśvara in Chitradurga District. Two of them are at Koppal. They indicate that a major portion of Karnataka was included in the Maurya empire, forming its southern boundary. The contents of these edicts are more or less the same as those of other minor Edicts of the emperor found elsewhere. The Maski edict, however, deserves special attention as it revealed for the first time the name of Aśōka, who was the author of several edicts spread all over India, mentioned therein as Dēvānāṁ Priya Priyadarśi. The only other edict similarly mentioning him by name, lately discovered, is at Gujarra in Madhya Pradesh It is interesting to note that in the Brahmagiri edict orders from the prince and provincial officers at Suvarṇagiri are conveyed to the officers of Isila, which appears to be Brahmagiri itself.

From the time of Aśōka, Buddhism made its headway in Karnataka as evidenced by epigraphical and other sources The strongholds of this faith that flourished in the early and late periods were Mangalore-Kadri region in South Kanara, Banavāsi and Karwar-Goa region in North Kanara, Ḍaṁbal and Kōlivāḍ in Dharwar District and Iṇḍi in Bijapur District. Recent explorations have shown that this doctrine had a wider prevalence. For instance, Sannati in Gulbarga District was a thriving centre of Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era as revealed by the relics of the stūpas, chaityas and other antiquities at the place.

Inscriptions at Myākadōṇi, Malavalli and Banavāsi point to the rule of the Śātavāhanas and their feudatories, the Chuṭus as successors to the Mauryas in Karnataka. The reference to Śātavāhanihāra and Sātāhanirattha in the Myākadōṇi inscription of Puḷumāvi and the Hirehadagali plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarma respectively corroborate this fact. The Hirehaḍagali charter indicates the Pallava rule in this area subsequent to that of the Śātavāhanas and the Chuṭuṣ. This is supported by the account in the Tālagunda inscription of Kadamba Kākusthavarma that Mayūraśarma carved out his kingdom by vanquishing the Pallava rulers.

The Chandravaḷḷi inscription alludes to the conquests of Mayūraśarma or Mayūravarma, the first ruler of the Kadamba dynasty. The Halmiḍi inscription of Kākusthavarma, belonging to the 5th century A. D., is the first record to be written entirely in Kannada language. The Tālagunda epigraph, mentioned above, written by the Sanskrit poet Kubja, provides a historical narrative of the Kadamba dynasty from its origin. These are valuable sources for the study of early history of Karnataka.

With the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, Karnataka enters into an epoch of glory. Two records of this family, viz. the Bādāmi cliff inscription of Pulakēśi I and the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśi II, noticed above, form important landmarks in Indian chronology. The latter epigraph contains a valuable account of the early rulers of the Chālukya family. This charter also enables us to fix the upper limit of the date of Kālidāsa with whom the poet of this record, Ravikīrti, compares himself. It also refers to Bhāravi. The Nerūr plates introduce Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the daughter-in-law of Pulakēśi II, who was a renowned Sanskrit poetess, described as *Sarasvati of Karnāṭa*. The Kāñchi inscription of Vikramāditya II testifies to the supremacy and prowess of the Chālukyas. It further exemplifies the magnanimity of that king who, after his victory over the Pallava ruler Paramēśvaravarma and occupation of his capital, visited the Rājasimhēśvara temple and made over to it all the wealth he had captured in the expedition.

In the subsequent period, the epigraphical source materials become rich and abundant. The stone inscriptions and the copper plate records in particular of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, furnish valuable information about their political and military achievements and cultural attainments. As example, we may cite the Jethwai plates which disclose that Śīlabhaṭṭārikā, the queen of Dhruva, was associated as sovereign with the administration of the empire. The Sañjan plates of Amōghavarsha I recount in detail the dazzling victories of the early Rāshṭrakūṭa monarchs and their ascendancy in the fields of battle in north India. A noteworthy incident mentioned in this record is that this Rāshṭrakūṭa king offered his finger as sacrifice to the goddess Mahālakshmī to ward off a calamity on his subjects. The British Museum inscription of Gōvinda III is one of the few early copper plate records composed in Kannada.

We have numerous records of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa which contribute to our knowledge of the political history and various aspects of life of the period. Notable among them are the Chikkerūr inscription, which fixes the date of the decisive battle between Taila II and the Paramāra king Muñja, in February 995 A. D., the Kīlāraṭṭi inscription which shows that Sōmēśvara I had a brother named Jayasiṁha, the Waḍagēri and the Hyderabad Museum inscriptions of VikramādityaVI, which fix the starting point of the Chālukya Vikrama era.

Similarly, a large number of epigraphical records of this period have come to light, providing copious information about the rulers of the Kalachuri, Sēuṇa and Hoysala dynasties. To mention just a few among the many : The Baḷgēri and Tambūr inscriptions indicating the commencement of Kalachuri Bijjala's career from about 1126 A D , the Dēvalāli plates furnishing interest ing information on the political relationship between the Sēuṇas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa; and the Lakkuṇḍi inscription of Hoysala Ballāla II, dated 1212 A. D., demarcating his northern expansion.

Coming to the Vijayanagara period we have a volume of epigraphical records diffusing welcome light on the myriad

activities pretaining to the kings and the subjects of this great empire. An inscription at Bādāmi shows that Harihara I was wielding power in the region of Bādāmi north of the Tungabhadra in 1340 A. D., four years subsequent to the traditional date of the foundation of Vijayanagara in 1336 A., D. In this epigraph he is described as the 'lord of the eastern and western oceans'. The Śringēri inscription of 1346 A. D. describing the visit of the five Sangama brothers to this religious centre to celebrate their historic achievement of subjugating the enemies, is of supreme importance as it proves beyond doubt that these chiefs had before this date completed the work of establishing the new kingdom. The Śravaṇabelgoḷa inscription of Bukka I of 1366 A. D., proclaiming the catholic policy of religious toleration and protection of the minorities in the State by the Vijayanagara kings, underlines one of the important objectives of the Vijayanagara rulers. It is a document of great significance in the history of polity of a nation. Kṛishṇadēvarāya's Kalinga expedition is spotlighted by a number of epigraphs in the Andhra area.

From the Vijayanagara period onwards, there is profusion of literary sources. This was the period when other materials of documentation came to be used more predominantly than the media of stone and copper plates. Hence inscriptions slowly become fewer and less conspicuous in the post-Vijayanagara period and finally they cease to hold the place. Still, even in this late age the epigraphs yield welcome light with precision on otherwise unknown incidents and chronological position of Vijayanagara history, besides disclosing various aspects of the rule of the feudatory families like the Keladi, Sonda, Hāḍuvaḷḷi and other chiefs of the west coast.

Numismatic Sources

Coins have rendered valuable service in supplementing our knowledge about many rulers of Ancient India; as for instance the Indo-Greeks, Kushāṇas, Guptas and so on. But, for the study of the history of Karnataka their contribution is rather

limited. Not many coins of the early rulers have come down to us. Epigraphical references indicate a variety of coins issued by different rulers. But as most of them were of gold, they have not unfortunately survived. The few that are sporadically available have their own story to tell. From the coins of inferior material like lead and potin, found in Karwar and Chitradurga districts we obtain information about the rule of the Sātavāhanas and their feudatories of the Chuṭu family. The Roman coins of Augustus, Tiberius and other rulers discovered at Chadravaḷḷi and Yaśhvantapur in the vicinity of Bangalore furnish evidence of the trade contacts of Karnataka with the western world. At Chandravalli was also found a brass coin with a square hole in the middle and four Chinese characters engraved around. Assigned to the middle of the second century B. C., this piece points to the antiquity of Chandravaḷḷi. On account of the precious nature of the material used, few coins of the early Kadambas and the Chālukyas of Bādāmi have survived Similar is the case with the coins of other dynasties like the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the later Chālukyas.

So far as the Vijayanagara rulers are concerned, large number of coins in gold, silver and copper have been brought out in lumps, hoards and treasure-troves. They testify to the vast resources, wealth and prosperity of the empire, substantiating the eyewitness accounts of foreign visitors and literary descriptions.

Among the coins familiarly known to us, *Gadyāṇa*, *Varāha* or *Pagōḍa* (Portuguese name) and *Hon* and *Paṇa* were gold coins issued by the kings of Vijayanagara and subsequently by their feudatories like the rulers of Ikkēri. Generally, the obverse of these coins bears the emblems of bull, elephant, lion or boar (Varāha), or the deities like Hanumān, Garuḍa, Umā–Mahēśvara, Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, Bālakṛishṇa and Venkaṭēśa. The reverse contains the names of the ruling kings in Kannada or Nagari characters, as for instance, Śrī Vīra Bukkarāya, Śrī Pratāpa Harihara, Śrī Pratāpa Dēvarāya etc. We obtain a large number of

coins of the later period also pertaining to the Sultans of Bijapur and the rulers of Mysore including Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan As the political history of these rulers and their dynasties is well known from other sources, their interest is shifted to the spheres of monetary transactions and numismatic studies of the period

Literary works

Next to inscriptions literary works dealing either with historical themes or containing allusions to specific historical events deserve consideration as useful sources However, in utilising this material cautious approach and careful scrutiny has to be made for, unlike the inscriptions, the historical fragments imbedded in such works are many a time coloured with poetic fancy and exaggeration

The *Kavirājamārga*, the earliest extant work in Kannada, ascribed to Nripatunga Amōghavarsha I of the Rāshtrakuta dynasty, is a work on Kannada poetics It defines the extent of Karnataka as stretching from the Gōdāvari in the North to the Kāveri in the South The truth of this statement is vouch safed by the presence of Kannada inscriptions ranging from the early centuries to as late a period as the fourteenth century, throughout this extensive area and particularly in the northern tracts extending as far as the former river This is also supported by cultural vestiges He mentions the Kannada poets that preceded him and further speaks highly of the literary and cultural attainments of the Kannada people of his days

Pampa (941 A D) the foremost Kannada poet, narrates in his *Bhārata* a number of episodes pertaining to his patron Arikēsari and other rulers of the Chālukya dynasty The *Chāvundarāyapurāna* (978 A D), an early prose composition in Kannada by Chāvundarāya a minister in the service of the Gangas of Talakād, furnishes historical details about the last rulers of this family In the compositions of the poet Ranna (993 A D), who lived in the court of the first rulers of the Chālukyas of Kalyāna, we obtain historical information concern

ing this family. His *Ajitanāthapurāṇa* gives inereating dettails about the early career of Taila II. In the *Gadāyuddha* or *Sāhasabhīmavijaya* the poet depicts the final phase of the Mahābhārata war and commemorates by skillful analogy with Bhīma, the hero of the epic, the exploits of his patron Iṛivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya. The genealogical account given in this work is helpful in tracing the direct relationship between the Bādāmi and Kalyāṇa houses of the Chālukyas. The *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* is a rare historical Kāvya dealing with the life and the achievements of the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI (1076–1127 A. D.). It is written by his court poet Bilhaṇa, who hailed from Kashmir. In the midst of poetic embellishments and panegeric, many facts of history can be gleaned from this work. Mention may be made here of *Vikramāṅkābhyudaya*, a partially preserved Sanskrit work ascribed to Sōmēśvara III, who also has to his credit another work of encyclopaediac nature, *Mānasōllāsa* or *Abhilashitārtha-Chintāmani*.

Among the sources for the study of the Sēuṇa history ranks high the *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi* of Hēmādri, an exaustive treatise on Dharmaśāstra. The *Rājapraśasti* section in it gives the genealogical account of the Sēuṇa family from its origin down to Mahādēva, under whom the author held the high post of keeper of records. Though inaccurate in certain respects, this account substantiates and supplements several facts gathered from inscriptions. The *Vyavahāragaṇita*, a Kannada work on mathematics by Rājāditya refers in a cursory way to the famous battle of Soraṭur fought between Bhillama V and Hoysala Ballāla II, supplying interesting details about the armies on the two sides. The *Sūktimuktāvalī*, an anthology of Sanskrit verses, whose author Jalhaṇa and his predecessors were in the service of the Sēuṇas, gives details about the career of Bhillama V and his father Mailugi. The *Kīrtikaumudī* of Sōmēśvara, the *Vasantavilāsa* of Bālachandrasūri and the *Hammīramadamardana* of Jayasimha are the Sanskrit works from Gujarat, disclosing the conflicts of the Sēuṇas with the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. The *Līḷācharita* and a few more works of the Mahānubhāvi school in Marathi throw

light on the closing events of the Sēuṇa history, for instance, the contest for throne between the princes, Rāmachandra and Amaṇa.

Unparalled was the heroism displayed by the rulers of the principality of Kummaṭa in the Tungabhadrā region. Kampilarāya and his son Kumāra Rāma, offered stiff resistance to the invading hordes of the Delhi Sultan and sacrificed their all in defence of their motherland in the early part of the fourteenth century. Among the poetic works composed to immortalise these incidents, the *Kumārarāmana Kathe* of Nanjuṇḍa (c. 1525 A. D.) is noteworthy, as it contains good historical material.

Literary sources become prolific and varied when we approach the Vijayanagara and post-Vijayanagara periods. A large number of works written in Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu serve useful purpose as historical sources. A few outstanding among them are noticed below.

The *Madhurāvijayam* or *Vira-Kampar̄ayacharitam* is an outstanding historical poem written by Gangādēvi, wife of Bukka I's son Kampaṇa. This work furnishes first hand information about the southern expedition of the Vijayanagara prince. It graphically describes the condition of the south consequent upon its conquest by the Muslims and narrates the conquest of Madurā from the hands of the Muslim governor. The exploits of Kampaṇa are also mentioned in two more works, viz, the *Sāḷuvābhyūdayam* of Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima and the *Rāmābhyudayam* of Sāḷuva Narasimha. The subject-matter of the former, however, concerns with the Sāluva family, opening with an account of its early members and narrating the rise of Sāluva Narasiṁha to political power and his outstanding achievements.

For the study of the life, personality and political events pertaining to Krishṇadēvarāya a good number of works in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannada are at our disposal. Just a few may be noted here. The *Rāyavāchakamu* presents a vivid account of the campaigns of Krishṇadēvarāya in colourful details. The

kings expedition against the Gajapati king Pratāparudra of Orissa is described at length in the *Pārijātapaharaṇamu* by Nandi Timmayya The above subject along with others is dealt with by Krishṇadēvarāya himself in his *Amuktamālyadā* This work is endowed with additional merit on account of its being also a treatise on the science of polity incorporating in the traditional background the kings views with reference to *Rājanīti* and *Daṇḍanīti*

The *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* and *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam*, both in Sanskrit, furnish interesting details about Achyutarāya, his predecessors, his exploits, coronation and establishment on the Vijayanagara throne and his marriage with Varadāmbā Information about Aliya Rāmarāya and the members of his family and also their activities can be gathered from the *Rāmarājīyamu*

The encyclopaediac compilation *Śivatattvaratnākara*, by Basavabhūpala includes a brief account about the rulers of Vijayanagara and their subordinates, the Keladi chiefs who subsequently rose to prominence The *Keḷadinṛpavijaya* by Linganna is a historical work dealing with the rulers of the Keladi family in many details

Adverting to the history of the Wodeyars of Mysore, the *Chikkadēvarāyavamśāvali* in Kannada by Tirumala is of good use Among the rare historical compositions in the same language, Gōvinda Vaidyas *Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja vijaya* ranks high The theme of this narrative poem centres round the career and exploits of Kanṭhīrava Narasaraja, distinguished among the rulers of Mysore (1704–1714 A D)

Accounts of Foreigners

Historical material can be culled out from the writings of foreigners who either collected information about this country from others or themselves paid visit to it as travellers, traders and envoys and recorded their experiences The earliest of such accounts go back to the period preceding the Christian era,

followed by others of later centuries. From the mention of a good many flourishing towns of Karnataka by the Greek geographer Ptolemy of the second century A D., we gather information about the trade contacts of this region with the west during those early times. Prominent among such place names which have been identified almost with certainty, are Banavāsi, Bādāmi, Paṭṭadakal and Puṇṇāṭa.

Hieun-tsang, the Buddhist pilgrim from China traevlled in many parts of India including Karnataka in the early part of the rule of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. He mentions Pulakēśi II, his military strength and confrontation with Harshavardhana of Ṭhāṅēśvara. He praises the valour, high calibre and integrity of the Kannada people. The Arab writer, Tabari by name, offers testimony to the distinguished status of Pulakēśi and his friendly and diplomatic exchanges with the king of Persia.

Sulaiman, the Arab writer who visited India in 851 A. D. makes references to the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire and its rulers. Balharā of his account is identified with Vallabharāja, the characteristic title assumed by the Rāshṭrakuṭas This author states that the Rāshṭrakuṭas were reckoned among the four supreme rulers of the world, the other three being those of the Arabs, China and Rome. He further describes the patronage extended by the Rāshtrakuṭas to the Arabs. The rivals of the Rāshṭrakuṭas, viz., the Gurjara-Pratīhāras also figure in his account. The Rāshṭrakuṭa dominions and their capital Mānkīr, which is Malkhēḍ, are alluded to by another Arab traveller Al Masudi of the early tenth century.

Ibn Batuta, the last among the Arab writers, toured in north and south India during the time of Muhammad Tughluk His work contains allusions to the southern expeditions of the Delhi Sultan and the Muslim inroads in the kingdoms of Dēvagiri, Kampila and Hoysaḷa Ballāla III.

Nicolo Conti, a traveller from Venice visited Vijayanagara about 1420 A. D. in the reign of Dēvarāya II. His account

sheds some light on the Vijayanagara city and court. More details are furnished by Abdul Razak who came to Vijayanagara as an ambassador of the Persian king about 1443 A. D. His meticulous descriptions of the city and the court of Vijayanagara its grandeur and the life of plenty and prosperity enjoyed by its inhabitants are elucidating.

Vijayanagara had closer contacts with Portugal than other western countries and this has helped the student of history by placing at his disposal contemporary first hand accounts of the affairs by Portuguese authors. Fairly reliable and quite useful information on the otherwise unknown aspects of Vijayanagara history in the early decades of the sixteenth century, can be derived from the writings of the following three Portuguese visitors : Duarte Barbosa, an official in the service of the Govenor of Portuguese settlements, has left an elaborate description of Vijayanagara (c. 1516 A. D). Domingos Paes who was in Vijayanagara during c. 1521–22 A. D has drawn an interesting sketch of the city, its ruler Kṛishṇadevarāya and his attainments. The chronicle of Fernao Nuniz, a horse-dealer who spent about three years in Vijayanagara from 1535 to 1537 A. D. relates the early history of Vijayanagara and describes the civil war that took place in the time of Achyutarāya.

Pietro Della Velle, an Italian traveller, toured in the kingdom of Keladi rulers and visited Ikkēri and other places in the coastal region Accompanying the Portuguese ambassador he vsited the court of Venkatappanāyaka I in 1623 A. D. A keen observer of men and matters, he has given a minute description of the life, society and customs and manners of the people, which is illuminating.

Muslim Chronicles

The chronicles of the Muslim authors in the courts of the Sultans of Delhi and other rulers contain descriptions of the political events in relation to the contemporary rulers of the country. These writings generally suffer from two main defects,

viz., prejudices against the other kings and potentates on the one hand and exaggerated view and partiality for their masters on the other. As such they have to be discredited as genuine historical works in the true sense of the term. However, after careful scrutiny they can be used in certain respects for historical purpose as secondary sources The following deserve mention among such chronicles.

Khazain-ul-Futuh of Amir Khusrau gives the official account of the campaigns of Ala-ud-din So far as the history of Karnataka is concerned this work throws welcome light on the southern campaigns of this Khilji adventurist. Zia-ud-din Barni's *Tarig-I-Firuzshahi* is another usable work in this category. Barni claims, with pardonable sense of pride, that what he wrote was right and worthy of confidence The work narrates in the early part the activities of Ala-ud din Khilji and subsequently deals with the reign of Mohammad Tughluk In this connection are described the destruction of the kingdom of Kampilarāya and the foundation of Vijayanagara.

The *Futuh-us-salatin*, composed in Persian verse, is a useful contemporary treatise. Completed in 1359 A. D., its author Isamy who stayed in the court of the first Bahamani Sultan, Ala-ud-din Bahaman Shah, reviews the history of the Delhi Sultans to the time of Muhammad Tughluk. It then narrates the Muslim conquest of South India and the events that led to the establishment of the Bahamani kingdom. It also alludes to the foundation of Vijayanagara.

There are other works dealing with the Bahamani kingdom, but they were written long after its disintegration and splitting up into five separate states Consequently, each of them concentrates on the history of the particular state with which the author was associated. Mention may be made among such, of the *Burhan-i-maasir* which is an account of the Nizam Shahi of Ahamadnagar, compiled by Ali bin Aziz-ullah Taba Taba in about 1596 A. D.

Foremost among the Muslim historians of this period is Muhammad Kasim Ferishta, described as the prince among the historians. His work, finished in 1606 A. D. in the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, is entitled A History of the rise of the Muslim power in India. Though comprehensive and readable, it is inaccurate and untrustworthy. It suffers from the point of contemporaneity, true historical perspective and objectivity. The Bahamani Sultans and the author's patrons, the Shahs of Bijapur, receive the most favourable treatment, whereas their rivals, the kings of Vijayanagara, are protrayed in unbecoming colours. Checked in the light of epigraphical evidence wherever it is available, it is found that the account is even fictitious in some cases The testimony of Ferishta on the history of Vijayanagara is therefore far too limited and unacceptable in many respects, though many modern writers have leaned on it for want of details from other sources.

The *Tazkirat-ul-muluk* written about 1610 A D by the Persian merchant in the service of Bijapur, called Shirazi, is a contemporary account revealing otherwise unknown aspects of Adilshahi history

Kaifiyat, Kālajnāna and Bakhair

For the history of Vijayanagara we have also a special class of literature, viz., the administrative records pertaining to the regional transactions and local affairs. Maintained seemingly in the form of diaries from time to time by the village officials, mostly they were found in the Telugu areas and known as *Kavile* or *Daṇḍakavile* They contain historical glimpses of the earlier periods also with an admixture of legendary tales and hearsay reports. Summaries of such accounts prepared and incorporated in the Mackenzie Collection are familiarly termed *Kaifiyats.* A student of history can peep into these secondary and late sources and utilise to some extent their information with caution and scrutiny.

Probably under the inspiration and on the pattern of some old *Purāṇas* like the *Bhavishya Purāṇa*, came into existence about the sixteenth century and later, a class of literature called *Kālajnāna*. Though actually recounting the past events, the *Kālajnānas* are compiled as prophetic pronouncements about the future, imparting them a touch of mysterious halo. The Vīraśaiva Kannada writers appear to have popularised and enriched *Kālajnāna* literature by narrating the incidents and episodes relating to their honoured saints like Allama Prabhu and Basavēśvara who lived about four centuries ago. Though an attempt is made to invest them with an appearance of actual history by citing the chronological details of cyclic years, months, *tithis* and weekdays, an examination of this data reveals that they are not only incorrect but ingenius presumptions based on surmises. Some Vīraśaiva *Kālajnānas* like that of Emme Basava, contain brief references of Vijayanagara history. Except giving some general ideas, the *Kālajnāna* literature does not furnish much information of historical value

A Sanskrit treatise entitled *Vidyāraṇya Kālajnāna* gives an account of the foundation of Vijayanagara. Besides crediting Vidyāraṇya with this event, it narrates the following story: The two brothers Harihara and Bukka were originally treasury officers of Pratāparudra at Warangal. After the conquest of this kingdom by the Delhi Sultan, they took service under king Rāmanātha. When this prince also was killed in a battle, they were taken as captives to Delhi. While there, impressed by their loyalty, the Sultan released and sent them to Karṇāṭa country where they founded Vijayanagara A similar version is fonnd in the *Vidyāraṇya-Vṛttānta* also. This story is narrated with more or less details in the *Keḷadinṛipavijaya* and other later works.

This story is remote from historical facts. It is not only not contemporary, having been recorded about four centuries later, but also entirely unsupported by the volume of contemporary epigraphical and literary evidence. Hence no critical student of history will be prone to readily accept it. But it is

strange that this legendary tale is blindly repeated again and again and many modern historians have given currency to it without proper scrutiny.

The great battle of Rākshasa-tangaḍi which hastened the downfall of Vijayanagara, is described at length by the Muslim writers The only account of this war from the Hindu side is furnished by the chronicle, *Rāmarāja's Bakhair* available in two versions, Kannada and Marathi. It was written by Rāmāji Tirumal Harikare, who appears to have been in the service of the later Vijayanagara king Venkaṭa II, at the instance of his master, in about 1621 A. D., as mentioned in a manuscript. Thus it is neither a contemporary nor an eyewitness report of the event. Consequently, its value as an authentic source of information has to be doubted The narrative is marred by imaginary descriptions and inflated statements and the original account appears to have been tampered with by later interpolations.

For the post-Vijayanagara period and for the historical studies pertaining to the Nāyakas of Keladi and other ruling families, the Portuguese records at Goa and Lisbon contain valuable materials. But these sources have not so far been properly tapped, on account of their being in the Portuguese language and further not easily accessible.

So far as the modern period is concerned, we have to approach the contemporary state papers, voluminous correspondence of East India Company and the British Goverment with the chiefs and rulers of Indian States and other materials. Such documents have been preserved in the India Office Library in London and the National Archives of Delhi. The Records Offices of the States also render help by themselves publishing the source materials and also permitting scholars to utilise the original papers in their custody.

The Indian Revolt of 1857, named as the war of independence, and the later National Movement for freedom are subjects

in which the Government of India have shown greet interest The State Governments also have undertaken to bring out official histories dealing with the part played by the respective States in the struggle for freedom In Karnataka the Mysore Govern has brought out two volumes entitled *The History of Freedom Movement in Karnataka* But these publications do not exhaust the field and there lies much scope for further research and study

All these source materials have been taken into considera tion as far as possible in the preparation of the present work

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CHAPTER II

PRE-HISTORY AND THE EPIC PERIOD

Physical Features

Karnataka or the present Mysore State, the land approximately between the rivers Krishnā in the north and the Kāvēri in the south, is situated in the south-western part of the Deccan plateau Bounded by the States of Maharashtra in the north and north-west, Andhra Pradesh in the east, Madras in the south-east and south and Kerala in the south-west, the Mysore State has an area of 1,92 203 square kilometres It is divided into 19 districts They are Bangalore, Belgaum, Bellary, Bidar, Bijapur, Chikmagalur, Chitradurga Coorg Dharwar, Gulbarga, Hassan Kolar, Mandya Mysore, North Kanara, Raichur, Shimoga, South Kanara and Tumkur The present State of Mysore is the result of integration of five units which were formerly under different administrations, but were historically and culturally homogeneous For purposes of administration it is now divided into four divisions, viz , Bangalore, Mysore, Belgaum and Gulbarga.

Geologically, this plateau of the Deccan is the oldest part of India, its sides formed by the two ranges of ghats meeting at the Nilgiris The Western Ghats form an unbroken line along the western coast, rising steeply from the Arabian Sea Along the west coast, there is a narrow coastal plain of about 14 to 34 kilometres in width and about 75 metres above the mean sea level To the south-east of the old Mysore State, below the forest regions, is the plain called *bayalu sime* or open country. The trap-soil and black-soil region of the Deccan plateau extends over the former Hyderabad and Bombay States, parts of which have now come under the Mysore State

Three-fourths of the territory is occupied by rocks known as Archaean formations, the oldest rocks of the earth's crust. They are classified into two main divisions, namely the Dharwar system (usually called Dharwar schists) and the Granitoid Gneisses. The northern margins of the State are covered by a series of sedimentary rocks of post-Dharwar age, known as the Cuddapah and Kurnool formations These formations are succeeded by volcanic rocks called 'Deccan traps' The coastal strip along the western margin of the State is occupied by more recent detrital deposits and laterites.

The climate of the State is essentially monsoon tropical. The majority of the rainfall is from the south-west monsoon. The coastal region has a heavy rainfall from this monsoon The Deccan plateau is in the rainshadow of Western Ghats and is dry. The annual average rainfall ranges from about 762 cms on the Western Ghats to about 38 cms in the eastern and north-eastern parts The plateau has a slope to the east and naturally all the drainage is from the west to the east The chief river systems, the Kṛishṇā and the Kāvērī, originate in the Western Ghats and flow eastward to join the Bay of Bengal The other important rivers in the State are the Bhīmā, the Tungabhadrā, the Ghaṭaprabhā and the Malaprabhā, all of which are tributaries of the Kṛishṇā, and the Hēmāvatī, and the Arkāvatī rivers which join the Kāvērī The rivers like Sharāvatī and the Kāli flow to the west into the Arabian Sea.

Crops and Resources

The soils of the State can be broadly classified into seven main groups The trap-soils derived from the Deccan trap occupy large areas of Belgaum, Bijapur, Gulbarga and Bidar districts. Though the soils are thick and poor in the uplands, in the lowlands and the valley clayey soils can grow good crops of jowar, pulses, cotton and the like. The mixed red and black soils are found alternating with each other in the districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, Raichur and Bellary and like the trap soil, yield good crops on the low-lands. The deep black soils, charac-

terised by their great depth, highly clayey nature and presence of lime deposits in lower layers are found to occur in the river valley basins or in depressions in the districts of Bijapur, Dharwar, Bellary, Raichur and Chitradurga. Being fertile they grow good crops of cotton, jowar and wheat The light textured red soils occurring in Kolar, Bangalore, Tumkur, Mandya and Mysore districts are poor in plant nutrients, but respond well to irrigation and manuring Ragi is mainly grown here as a rain-fed crop, paddy and sugarcane being grown under irrigation. The red-loams found between the Western Ghats and red soils, in Shimoga, Chikmagalur, Hassan and Mysore districts and the valley portion of Coorg are comparatively richer than the red soil and support coffee and other plantation crops like areca and cardamum. Paddy is the main crop of the laterite soils occupying the heavy rainfall districts of North and South Kanara and western parts of Coorg, Hassan, Chikmagalur and Shimoga districts Plantation crops like coffee, tea and cocoanut are also grown here. The dark brown clayey soils occuring in a small area in the eastern parts of Coorg and continuous with similar dark coloured soil on south-western parts of Mysore district, are a rich forest-belt It may be noted that the State stands first in the production of ragi, (African millet- *Eleusine Coracona*), coffee and cardamum

The land under cultivation forms nearly 62% of the total land of the State of which nearly 8% is fallow land The total area under forests is 36731 sq. kms which would be 19 13% of the total forest area to geographical area While 9% of the rest is either barren or put to non-agricultural use, 15% of the total land account for cultivable waste. Through their produce and their influence on climate, regulation of moisture and prevention of soil erosions, forests are of direct and indirect utility in the economy of a country. From the point of view of out-turn of forest produce and the revenue from these forest resources, Karnataka is an important State in India The annual revenue of forests is now nearly 4 crores. Adjoining the belt of dry Deccan forest, containing mainly thorny shrubs and small trees

useful only as firewood, are found considerable areas of teak and rosewood in Dharwar, Hassan, Tumkur, Bangalore and Kolar districts where the rainfall ranges from 76.2 cms to 152 cms. The mixed belt of deciduous and evergreen forest is found in the western parts of Mysore and Hassan, eastern parts of Coorg and central parts of Chikmagalur, Shimoga, South and North Kanara districts where sandal wood is abundant besides valuable species of timber, like teak, bite, honne, nandi, jambe and matti. The evergreen belt of forest stretches along the western parts of Hassan, Chikmagalur and Shimoga districts to North Kanara district. Balagi and ebony are typical species found in this region

The state is rich in mineral resources also. Almost all economically important minerals like gold, manganese ore, iron ore, chromite and pyrites, copper ore, lead ore, antimony ore, bauxite,corundum,garnet, asbestos, magnesite, graphite, limestone, kyanite, silimanite and soap stone are found in the Dharwar schists belt. Of these, manganese and iron ores and chromite are mined on a large scale. The State provides the largest quantity of gold of the country from the Kolar and Hatti mines.

People

The total population of the State according to the 1961 census, is 2,35,86,772 of which only a little more than 51 lakhs is urban. Bangalore is the thickly populated district, the density being 314 per sq km. while North Kanara is the sparsely populated district whose density is only 67. The average density for the State would, however, be 123 per sq. km 47 9% of the State's population is agricultural while 52.1% is non-agricultural. Kannada is the State language. There are 1,53,71, 751 persons in the State, whose mother tongue is Kannada This amounts to more than sixty-five percent of the total population of the State More than five million Kannada speaking population is distributed in the adjacent States like Maharashtra, Andhra and others Telugu Urdu, Marathi, Tamil and Malayalam are the other languages spoken in the State. While there are more than 20 lakhs of people speaking Telugu and nearly as many speaking Urdu, Marathi is

the mother tongue of 10 lakhs of people. Tamil and Malayalam are spoken by more than 8 lakhs and 3 lakhs of people respectively. It may be noted that the people in the border areas are bilingual, Kannada being one of the languages spoken by them, the others being Telugu, Marathi etc.

In regard to the composition of the population, as in other areas, it is neither unitary nor homogeneous in religious persuasion and social formulation. It is distributed into groups and sections following different faiths and creeds and communities with traditional affiliations based on crafts and avocations. The main religions are Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, others like Jainism, Buddhism and Judaism having a limited following.

The origin and evolution of caste in India is a problem set with great difficulties for a sociologist to come to any acceptable conclusion. The caste system is generally traced to the Vedic times when it existed in an embryonic state. *Brāhmaṇas* and *Purāṇas* furnish evidence of successive modifications Since then it has developed through ages under the influence of circumstances like the contact of races, of culture and civilization, the composition and formation of powerful guilds, influence of Hinduism in the attraction and assimilation of diverse elements, political vicissitudes, complicated nature of the development of societies and the geographical environments—all of which have combined to form endogamous groups Tribe is another term loosely applied to an aggregate of persons who have or believe themselves to have a common origin and political interests But the modern tendency for such tribes is to be transformed into a caste.

The caste system of Mysore, in the present context, has been explained by the anthropologist Shri L. K A .Iyer, as the result of a process of evolution. On this evolutionary basis he classifies the tribes and castes of Mysore Thus, Kurubas and Gollas etc., are pastoral, Āre, Hallekār, Halepaik, Morasu Okkalu etc agricultural, Mōchi, Mēdar, Agasa and the like industrial, and Baṇajigas and Vaiśyas, traders. Brāhmaṇas are classified under

the priestly class while the Lingāyats are treated as special caste priests. According to the Report of the States Reorganization Committee, based on the census of 1931 'a little more than 20 percent of the population may be Lingayats, between 13 and 14 percent Okkaligas, about 17 to 18 percent Harijans'.

Effects of Geography

Here, the effects of the geographical features of Karnataka on its people may briefly be reviewed The fact of its being centrally situated in the southern peninsula, enabled the rulers of Karnataka to build up empires extending from the Narmadā in the north to Rāmēśvaram in the south and stretching as far as the two seas in the west and the east The five empires of Karnataka, viz, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāshtrakutas, the Chalukyās of Kalyāṇa, the Hoysalas and Vijayanagara illustrate the point Thus, ignoring partial exaggerations, we can appreciate the assumption of ambitious titles like *tri-samu-dratōya-pīta-vāhana* (whose horses drank the waters of the three seas) and *Pūrva-paśchima-dakshiṇa-samudrādhipati* (lord of the eastern, western and southern seas) borne by the Śātavāhana and Vijayanagara rulers.

This verdant country with its winding rivers and beautiful hills and valleys made the people energetic and enterprising. The large stretches of fertile, cultivated land growing dry and irrigated crops afforded them a life of comfort Naturally the people were generous The Kannadigas are a people of faith and conviction, brave and truthful The geographical situation of the country made them come into contact with people of both the north and the south. They willingly imbibed the salient traits of the Aryan as well as the Dravidian cultures There developed in them a sense of catholicity and tolerance of religions Karnataka came to be the meeting ground of many religious faiths and creeds of India.

The sand stone as also the trap which is in abundance in the State, offered the Kannadiga a suitable medium of expressing his

religious and aesthetic sentiments through the construction of picturesque temples and sculptures on a large scale It was here, in Karnataka and near about, that the temple architecture of varied styles, was born. This area is considered to be the cradle of the Hindu temple formulation.

Within the State, the role of the Tungabhadrā has been remarkable. In one way, it is the demarcating line which, from historical times, was considered as a boundary between several kingdoms. But, even with regard to the language, food-habits and to some extent the development of religious institutions and cultural influences, this river played a notable part. While the people to the north of the Tungabhadrā came under the political and cultural influences of the powers and peoples of the north, the region to the south was influenced to an extent by the politics and culture of the south

After its formation into a well-defined and homogeneous entity, politically, ethnically and culturally, the Gōdāvarī in the north and the Kāvērī in the south became the natural physical boundaries of Karnataka This must have taken place after the establishment of the first Chālukya empire of Bādāmi. The northern boundaries of Karnataka, as we see them now, are considerably shrunk and narrowed down on account of the later political reverses and cultural set-backs The extent of ancient Karnataka within these farther limits, however, is vouched by the availability of the Kannada inscriptions as well asmarked linguistic and cultural vestiges in the areas beyond the northern frontiers of present Karnataka.

Prehistoric Karnataka

Situated in the heart of the Deccan plateau which is one of the oldest spots on earth, it is but natural that cultural remains of high antiquity indicative of the life of primitive man who was living and carrying on his activities here long before civilization had introduced the means of advanced social and scientific contacts, have all been buried in the debris of mounds, most of

which are yet to be unearthed It is interesting to note that the first tool–a ground or polished stone axe–was found at Lingsugur in Raichur district in 1842 A D., and with that, we could say, the study of prehistory in India began But it was left for Robert Bruce Foote to explore systematically the rivers of the regions of Mysore State and those of other States like Madras, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat. He is that way the father of Karnataka prehistory in particular and Indian prehistory in general.

Foote had discovered Early Stone Age tools at some sites like Kadur, Nyāmati, Nidaghatta and Lingadahalli in Kadur and Shimoga districts, and Khyād on the Malaprabhā and Menasigi on the Bennihalla, an affluent of this river, in Bijapur district Recently, an Old Stone Age settlement at Kibbanahalli in Tumkur district has been reported But no river or stream in the vicinity has been found, though water is available in the adjoining valley. Twenty one Early Stone Age sites all along the Malaprabhā basin have also now come to light as a result of an intensive survey. Thus the cultural remains of the early man have been noticed in many river basins of Karnataka

Stone Age

The Old Stone Age industries of peninsular India when compared to those of the so-called 'Sohan industry, show a different technological tradition Instead of the pebble chopping tools of the Sohan industry, they are characterised by large quantities of hand-axes and cleavers made of cores and flakes. As mentioned above, detailed investigations in the Malaprabhā valley have shown developed Achulean hand-axes and cleavers Abbevillian and middle and late Achulean hand-axes of the Early Stone Age industry have been found at Kibbanahalli also

Till very recently the layers lying above those which contained hand-axes and cleavers were supposed to be barren and so it was not possible to say what happened to this Early Stone Age man. However, recently at Nevasa in Ahmadnagar district

of Maharashtra, were found such earlier tools in a thin basal gravel resting over the rock, while another layer of gravel, fine and less cemented superimposed over it, yielded smaller tools-scrapers, points and blade-like tools of chert and jasper Stratified deposits of similar smaller tools were later found in our State at Taminhāl on the Malaprabhā, where Early Stone Age tools had been found These tools succeed the hand-axe industry and precede the microliths This cultural stage has been termed as the Middle Stone Age. Evidence of this culture is found in north Mysore, for instance, at Sàlvadgi in Bijapur district. This Middle Stone Age Industry in Karnataka is characterised by a high percentage of irregular flakes, cores and nodules, the main tool types being points having various sub-types and some showing incipient or ill-developed tang, scrapers, borer, borer-cum scrapers, flakes and cores. Numerically the borers form the largest group

A large number of Microlithic (or Late Stone Age) sites have been found particularly in Bellary and Chitradurga districts. The earliest phase in the excavated site at Sanganakallu near Bellary consisted of a crude microlithic industry of quartz, associated with a few heavily patinated flakes of trap and sandstone, pointing either way towards the earlier Middle Stone Age and the succeeding microlithic or Late Stone Age

Microlithic sites have also been found at Jālahaḷḷi near Bangalore, Brahmagiri in Chitradurga district and Kibbanahaḷḷi in Tumkur district. The Jālahaḷḷi microlithic industry has a preponderance of crescents, points and arrow-heads ideally suited to a hunting economy and environment, while the Brahmagiri site consists primarily of parallel-sided flakes and Gravettian-like pen-knife blades, implying a more developed culture in which the arrow-head and crescent are absent. The latter in fact appear to be a part of the chalcolithic culture complex.

The neolithic or New Stone Age culture indicates a cultural and economic stage when man had learnt not only to smooth his stone tools by different methods but also to produce

his own food by primitive agriculture It was a change from the food-gathering phase to that of producing Besides, he began to domesticate animals like the cow or sheep and make pottery Thus it is a stage when he had built up an organised community and settled life.

The important sites in Karnataka, of neolithic culture, so far discovered are those of Brahmagiri, Kallūr, Maski, Sanganakallu and Piklihāl Robert Bruce Foote had opined that the granitoid hills and rock-shelters of the Raichur Doab and the adjoining Bellary were inhabited by man during the neolithic period. This surmise has been confirmed by the excavations conducted at Sanganakallu and Piklihāl and other sites Piklihāl is believed to be the ancient site of Modougalla mentioned by Ptolemy, and now preserved in the famous fortified town of Mudgal Maski, near Piklihāl, has been the site of one of the two Aśōkan edicts bearing his name. Brahmagiri first sprang into importance by the discovery of Aśōka's minor edicts. Though Bellary itself cannot claim such an advantage, in the nearby Koppal region two more minor Aśōkan edicts have been found.

In this connection, a suggestion that Karnataka had commercial contacts with the people of the Indus Valley in c 3000 B C, may be noted It is further suggested that the gold found in the Harappan sites was imported from the gold mines of Karnataka. This is, however, a plausible surmise.

The investigations and excavations conducted in the Raichur-Bellary areas have shown that a pastoral-cum-agricultural people had settled in this region dotted with hills Their main economy of life was tending cows and sheep and carrying on a primitive kind of agriculture. Their vessels were mostly hand-made, some of them were perhaps made on turn-table.

The chronology of this culture in the Deccan peninsula had remained a problem till in 1944 Sir Mortimer Wheeler evolved a working system based on the impact of Roman trade and deposit of Roman coins. The rouletted-ware pottery found at Brahmagiri

is the foundation on which the chronology of South Indian prehistory is suggested Wheeler dated the stone-axe culture of Brahmagiri as between 1000 B C. to 1st century A D. But these limits have to be pushed back by a few centuries in the light of further investigations

The advent of the early neolithic settlers must have been the result of mass movements and immigration as there is no known social group or culture which could at this time have provided locally a suitable medium for development There is enough indigenous evidence to indicate the pastoral character of the early inhabitants. They practised small scale horticulture rather than agriculture.

However, towards the end of the upper neolithic period there are indications of an intrusion into this region from the north. At Sanganakallu and Piklihāl has been noticed a distinctive type of painted pottery with wheel-thrown rims, analogous with the chalcolithic sites at Neevasa and Bahal This may be attributed to the impact of the northern people who brought with them a new type of painted pottery

It has been suggested that in the last centuries of the 3rd millenium B C there was considerable folk movement in the Iranian Plateau An unknown group of tribes, probably pastoralites, with sheep and goats and also perhaps cattle,who maintained a typical Neolithic–Chalcolithic stone-blade industry and also made ground stone-axes if and when raw material was found, moved southwards via Arachosia into the Indus Valley. In this region they underwent a stage of adaptation and change and developed an urban type of civilization and culture. Subsequently, these people spread to the east and to the south.

Distinctive terracotta objects have been found at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro identical with the Deccan type, while pottery of some phase of this movement occurs alongside the Harappa pottery at Lothal, indicating that the peoples of the Indus Valley and the Deccan had trade contacts. The movement of the pastoralites thus

appears to have covered the regions of Sind and Saurashtra and the forests and grasslands of the Deccan plateau Then they spread further south towards the North Karnataka region and beyond where open grass-lands were plentiful and conditions of life more favourable.

The last phase of the prehistoric stone age is the Megalithic culture This is characterised by the heavily built up stone circles containing burial cists associated with black-and-red pottery and iron implements Extensive areas dotted with such megalithic monuments have been discovered in many parts.

Archaeological excavations

Here we may briefly notice some important excavations having a bearing on the prehistoric culture of Karnataka In 1945, at Arikamēdu near Pondicherry was discovered a site where imported objects of known date occurred side by side with distinctive elements of Indian prehistoric culture Excavations of the site revealed two main phases, the earlier one being megalithic and the later characterised by Roman contact in the occurrence of rouletted pottery and glass of the 1st century A D, which was definitely foreign to Indian ceramic, in association with a red-slipped pottery Evidence of Roman contact had already been furnished from a Karnataka area Five years earlier, in 1940, the Archaeological department of the Mysore State had collected at Chandravalli in Chitradurga district local pottery named Russet-coated white-painted ware (formerly called the Andhra pottery) besides Roman *denarii* of Augustus and Tiberius, as also potin coins of Śātavāhana feudatories. In 1942, in the vicinity of the site of Aśōkan edicts at Brahmagiri, trial excavations were conducted by the late Dr. M H Krishna He suggested the identification of Isila of Aśōkan edicts with Brahmagiri. The excavations also indicated that the two sites of Chandravalli and Brahmagiri with their numismatic evidence could provide a datum line.

Taking this clue, Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler excavated the sites at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli in 1947. The excavations

revealed a clear succession of three main cultures, (i) the Brahmagiri stone-axe culture of early 1st millenium B. C. to the beginning of the third century B C (ii) the megalithic culture from c. 300 B C to the I century A. D and iii) the Andhra culture from about the middle of the first century to the third century A. D. with an appreciable overlap in between them. The result of the excavations at Brahmagiri provided clues for determining the time sequence of the archaeological phases of South India. Further, it became known that the earliest inhabitants of the place used as their principal tools polished stone-axes supplemented by microliths. They lived in huts with rubble foundation. So far as the disposal of the dead was concerned, they allowed the practice of inhumation for adults and urn-burials for infants.

Beneath the megalithic phase, in Brahmagiri, was a deep stratified deposit characterised by numerous polished stone-axes, burials in crude hand-made urns and microliths and rare fragments of copper and bronze. The polished stone-axe culture which preceded megalithic phase was widely known from surface finds in the Deccan In 1948 a site at Sanganakallu, three miles north-east of Bellary and about forty miles south-west-by-south of Brahmagiri, was excavated by the late Dr B Subbarao

The Sanganakallu excavations confirmed and extended the evidence about Stone Age cultures. This area had not only passed through all the three phases of Brahmagiri, but here, below the megalithic phase, were found heavily patinated flakes of trap and sandstone. Further, from the large number of stone tools of different stages found concentrated in one place and the finding of a large number of patinated tools and flakes on the surface, it has been thought that here was a factory of stone-axes. The megalithic pottery found at the top of Sanganakallu provided a firm datum for a sequence dating of the finds below them, for their stratigraphic horizon had already been fixed. Thus, the stages at Sanganakallu were demonstrably earlier than those represented at Brahmagiri and thus they are called 'True Neolithic'. It may be noted that while a few pieces of painted-red-ware pottery were found in the lower levels of Brahmagiri

and in Phase II–2 at Sanganakallu (equivalent to Brahmagiri period I) only burnished grey-ware was found at Sanganakallu Phase II–1 Dates from radiocarbon measurements suggest *c*. 1590 and 1550 B C as the period for the earliest cultural phase of Sanganakallu.

Excavations at Maski, in Raichur district, carried out by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1954, revealed an identical culture sequence with that of Brahmagiri. Here also painted pottery, represented by more than two dozen pot-sherds, was found in Period I

In southern Deccan, the chalcolithic culture is characterised by polished stone-axes, while in central India and northern Deccan at Tripuri, Maheshwar, Navda-Toli, Nevasa, Jorwe etc., it is distinguished by a profusion of painted pottery But there is a difference in the fabric and form of the pottery of the above two regions The pottery of the northern region is rare in the southern Deccan and there is no other tradition of chalcolithic assemblage here while the polished stone-axes and burial-urns, typical to this area, occur at Nevasa and Chandoli These disparities cannot be explained unless we assume that there was contact between the two regions through trade

At Piklihāl in Raichur district, a site was first excavated in 1952 and later, in 1957, the work was completed. This is one of the biggest neolithic sites of the district. Here, as in Sanganakallu, there was nothing which could supply any evidence for the dating of the historical periods According to Dr. F R. Allchin who excavated this site, the earliest human settlement was of the lower neolithic period ranging from c 2000 B C to c. 1250 B C. and the upper neolithic from c 1250 B C to 650 B. C. with an intrusion thereafter before the Iron Age set in c 550 B C

The Archaeological department of the Mysore State excavated a site near T. Narasipur on the left bank of the Kāvērī in 1959. The excavations have turned out to be very informative and this is a unique site where no copper or bronze has been found.

This seems to suggest that this is a pure typical neolithic site. Polished stone-axes have been found in abundance besides coarse grey pottery.

The next excavated site at Tekkalakōta, twenty-seven miles south of Bellary yielded the largest number of stone tools of ground and pecked industry. Implements in all the stages of manufacture and a large number of grinding grooves on natural boulder occurring in the site, showed that the tools were manufactured at the inhabitation site itself Carbon-14 tests have revealed the earliest date for Tekkalakōta as c. 1800–1600 B. C. The Tekkalakōṭa finds confirm that contacts existed between the neolithic folk of Karnataka and their contemporaries in the northern Deccan, of the chalcolithic period, and that they were all broad homogeneous cultural groups

The latest site to be excavated is Hallūr on the banks of the Tungabhadrā in Dharwar district The excavation has given us a picture, however dim, of the life of the people living on river banks, which, we may say, was in no way far different from that of the people on the granite hills in the Raichur–Bellary area. Further, the newly found white–painted black-and-red ware of the Hallur region suggests that it belongs to the megalithic phase. The megalithic overlap phase at Hallūr may also be dated and we may now conclude that the Iron Age people arrived in this part of Karnataka around 1000 B. C.

Karnataka in the Epic perid

The history of South India as such begins with the advent of the Aryans into this part of the country. At least till about 600 B. C. the Southern India was unknown to the Aryan inhabitants of the north. Only gradually did the Aryans migrate into the region beyond the Vindhyas Evidence is lacking for reconstructing the history of south India prior to 600 B C except through legends and myths that developed in Indian literature. Sage Agastya is supposed to be the person responsible for the Aryanisation of south India. He is mentioned vaguely in the *Rigvēda* as a person who was born in a *kumbha* (i. e. jar) In the *Rāmāyaṇa*

later on, Agastya is said to have been responsible for making Daṇḍakāraṇya fit for human habitation by overpowering the *asuras* who were living there. In the *Mahābhārata*, the story of Agastya is further developed and it narrates in detail the story of Agastya's digesting the flesh of the demon Vātāpi, served as food, thereby frustrating his brother Ilvala's queer method of destroying the Brāhmaṇas. In fact, Bādāmi which later on flourished as the early Chālukya capital is described as the seat of Vātāpi, while it is suggested that in Aihole (Ayyāvole), we have a trace of the demon Ilvala. Some suggest that it is the village Yelvāl, near Mysore where the demon Ilvala had his abode. Tradition makes Agastya the father of the Tamil language, he being the author of the *Agattiyam*, the first grammar in Tamil. This shows that Agastya was associated with Karnataka as well as Tamil country in popular tradition

The legend of Paraśurāma, son of the sage Jamadagni is popular in the south. He, in twenty-one expeditions, cleared the earth of the Kshatriyas and later on gave the whole earth to the Brāhmaṇas at the instance of sage Viśvāmitra. Then he applied to Sagara, lord of the Ocean, to give him some land to dwell on and the land that he thus claimed by making the ocean recede is described as Paraśurāma-kshētra extending from Kanyākumari in the south to Gōkarṇa in North Kanara district It is interesting to note that Kannada inscriptions of the 12th century, found in the west-coast region, refer to this story of Paraśurāma's creating the Sapta-Konkaṇas i. e. the seven Konkaṇas.

Karnataka as a region or a people does not find mention in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is perhaps because this region was mostly a forest tract at that time. The Daṇḍakāraṇya mentioned therein may be, it is thought, identical with the later Karnataka region. According to tradition, the capital of the Vānara chiefs, Vāli and Sugrīva is assumed to be on the site of Pampā, the same as the region of the Tungabhadrā near Hampi in Bellary district. Though this epic, perhaps with a poetic imagery, describes the inhabitants of this region as *Vānaras*, i e monkeys, a clue to the

real nature of the people of the area is found in a later Kannada work of the 11th century, called the *Rāmachandra-charita Purāṇa* of Nāgachandra (Abhinava Pampa), according to which the residents of the area were not really monkeys but a tribe who had the figure of monkey as insignia on their flags.

The earliest allusion of Karṇāṭa or Karnataka is found in the *Mahābhārata* wherein reference is made also to the Mahishaka, and tracts of Vanavāsaka and Kuntala in different contexts. Karnataka was probably then a unit loosely connecting the areas like the Kuntala, Vanavāsaka and Mahishaka. Mahishaka is generally taken to be the same as Mahisha-maṇḍala which is identical with the southern part of the Mysore State. The suggestion that the term is a reference to the country on the Narmadā, with Māhishmatī as the capital is not convincing on geographical considerations Vanavāsaka is the region around the modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara district. Kuntala is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as one of the kingdoms and this appears to be a reference to the north Karnataka region.

The date of these epics has been a subject of dispute. Still it is believed that they came into existence in the period intervening the 3rd-4th centuries B. C. and the 3rd-4th centuries A. D. Since Kannada was the original term which appears to have been later Sanskritised into Karnaṭa as occurring in the earlier portions of the *Mahābhārata*, about the third century B. C, we may assign the antiquity of the Kannada people and language anterior to this period. The Karnataka region also might have taken shape about the same time.

It is possible to assume that in the pre-Christian era Karnataka was a well-known geographical unit. That this area formed a part of the Aśōkan empire has not been doubted, for as many as six versions of minor rock edicts of the emperor have been found in different parts of the State. A unique linguistic feature of these records, the ones at Maski, Koppal and Siddāpura in particular, is the cerebralisation of the dental

n, and this may be attributed to the impact of the regional language which could be an ancient form of Kannada. According to a Jaina tradition, it is said that Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty, who ceased to reign in c 297 B. C. embraced Jainism and accompanied his Jaina teacher Bhadrabāhu in his southward journey. The latter finally settled down in the smaller of the two hills at Śravaṇabelgola where he took the vow of *Sallēkhana* and attained salvation. It is stated that twelve years later, Chandragupta also laid down his life in the same spot. This tradition is popular among the Jainas, though scholars hold different views regarding the identification of Chandragupta. One view is that this king is Samprati Chandragupta, grandson of Aśōka, who ruled at Ujjayini and migrated to the south with Bhadrabāhu, another teacher of the same name, some time in the last quarter of the second century B C

The anonymous author of the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea' (c. first century A. D) and Pliny (77–78 A D) refer to several localities of this province having contacts with the Western world. Ptolemy (c 150 A D) refers to many towns of commercial importance in Karnataka like Badiamaioi, Madougoulla, Banaouasei, Hippokoura which are identified respectively with Bādāmi, Mudgal, Banavāsi and Huvina Hipparagi. These places bearing names of Kannada origin suggest the existence of a prosperous and trading country Further Ptolemy refers to the Vaiḍurya gems of Pounnāta, same as Punnāṭa, and to Malippala which is identified with the coastal town of Malpe in South Kanara In a Greek farce in the *Oxyrhynchus papyri* in Egypt (c 290 A D) occur some words which are sought to be identified by some scholars as Kannada. The occurrence of the word for peacock *tuki* or *tugi* same as *tokai* of the old Tamil and *sōge* of larer Kannada, in the Hebrew text of the Books of Kings and Chronicles in the list of the articles of merchandise brought from Obir in Solomon's ships about 10C0 B. C. is taken to be an important confirmation of the antiquity of Dravidian languages of which Kannada is one. On the strength of the above evidences taken together, it may be reasonably sur-

mised that the Kannada language and the people had emerged and developed their own cultural traits a few centuries prior to 300 B C.

An important issue that has led to controversies is as to how the term Karnāta or Karnāṭaka came to be applied to this country, its people and their language. It may be noted at the outset that we have another more commonly used equivalent, viz., Kannaḍa, which appears to be indigenous and older. Scholars are divided regarding the origin of these two expressions, some suggesting that the original is Kannada and Karnāta its Sanskritised form, others take Karnāṭa as the original and Kannada its derivative We have to consider the following two points while resolving this question Firstly, as a general rule the people and their language are associated with the region which they adopt as their home Secondly, the name which is more natural and simple and also more appropriate etymologically and historically should be given preference.

The following etymologies are proposed to explain the names, Karnāṭa or Karnāṭaka and Kannaḍa

1. Karnāṭa is derived from the two original tribes called *Karṇa* and *nata*, who settled here.
2 There existed a people named *Kaḷ* or *Kaṇ* and *nāḍu* means region, these combine to form the name Kannaḍa
3. The expression *Karṇāta* means a renowned land, which is made up of two Sanskrit words, *Karṇa*– ear and *aṭ*– to resound.
4. *Kam* (*Kammittu*) – fragrant and *nāḍu* – country, these combined and formed Kannaḍa.
5. Kannaḍa is the result of two words, viz , *Kar*–black and *nāḍu* – country.
6. *Kāru*-high, elevated and *nāḍu*–country. These conjoined and yielded the name Kannaḍa which means elevated territory, plateau.

The last of these is acceptable for it satisfies our requirements. The essential and most conspicuous physical feature of this region is its being a table-land and the main component of the name Kannaḍa is the Dravidian word *nāḍu* which is of high antiquity. As in many cases, Kannaḍa must have been Sanskritised into Karnāṭa which has given room to some fanciful explanations Like Karnāṭa, the adjoining tracts which also formed its parts, viz., Konkaṇa, Karahāṭa, Tulu and Goa were Kannaḍa regions, their appellations excepting the last one, being derived basically from Kannaḍa and Dravidian speech. It is a historical fact that the Dravidian language and the people existed prior to the Aryanisation of the south and the composition of the epics

CHAPTER III

THE KADAMBAS AND THE GANGAS

The Early dynasties

Definite beginnings of the history of Karnataka can be traced to the period of the Mauryas, or precisely to the 3rd century B. C., when the Maurya king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśi Aśōka was ruling almost all over India including a major portion of Karnataka. Legends recorded in inscriptions of later periods indicate even an earlier beginning

The Nandas and the Mauryas

According to these legends, the Nandas also held sway over Kuntala, i e. the territory which comprised most of Karnataka. Dolmens, found in many parts of Karnataka, are described as *Mōrēri-aṅgaḍi* possibly indicating the association of the Mauryas, taking *Mōre* as an equivalent of Maurya.

Inscriptions of about the 6th century onwards, found at Sravaṇabelgola, a Jaina centre of antiquity, state that Chandragupta, the grandfather of Aśōka, migrated to that place along with his preceptor Bhadrabāhu and spent the last years of his life there. Though the historicity of such statements of a later period is questionable, they testify to the traditions that have been handed down from a remote past. There is no doubt that during the period of Aśōka's rule a large part of Karnataka was included in his empire According to his edicts, Satiyaputa, Kēraḷaputa, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Tāmbraparṇi were the neighbouring tracts of his empire. Of these, Satiyaputa and Kēraḷaputa roughly stand for the South Kanara district of Mysore State and the State of Kerala respectively. Chōḷa is the territory of Tanjore.

Tiruchirapalli districts while the Pāṇḍya country represents the area of Madurai-Rāmanāthapuram districts of Madras State. Tāmbraparṇi is the island of Ceylon.

The fact that Aśōka's edicts are found, one at Maski and two at Koppal in the Raichur district and three more further south at Siddāpura, Brahmagiri and Jatinga Rāmēśvara in the Chitradurga district, indicates that these areas were within his empire and probably constituted the south-west border As Aśōka is not known to have conquered these areas, he must have inherited them Nor can we assume, for want of evidence, their conquest by any of the predecessors of his house. Therefore, there seems to be some truth in the tradition about the rule of the Nandas over Kuntala, leading to the surmise that they might have earlier brought it under their sway. We may here note that some chiefs of the Maurya family were ruling over parts of Karnataka in the 6th-7th centuries A. D.

Not much is known about the political or social conditions or Karnataka in this period. Aśōkan edicts reveal that this area formed an administrative unit in the Maurya empire and imperial officers were stationed in this region The Brahmagiri edict refers to the instructions of the prince (*āryaputra*) and the officers (*mahāmātra*) at Suvarṇagiri to the *mahāmātras* at Isilā. The former place is identified with Kanakagiri near Maski by some and with Jonnagiri in Andhra Pradesh by others, whereas, Isila most probably appears to be Brahmagiri itself. In this period Buddhism, for the propagation of which Aśōka was largely responsible, was introduced into Karnataka. The *Mahāvamśa* tells us that Aśōka sent a Buddhist monk to Banavasi for the spread of that religion. This statement finds confirmation from the footprint slab inscription found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

The Śātavāhanas

After the disintegration of the Maurya empire, the Śātavāhanas rose to power in the Deccan and their rule extended to Karnataka also. The Śātavāhana kings are described as lords of

Dakshiṇāpatha. The geographical connotation of *Dakshiṇāpatha*, however, varied according to different authorities If some include in it the whole of trans-Vindhyan peninsular India, many others equate it with a major portion of the table-land of south India below the Vindhyas comprising the present territories of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Karnataka It is in this narrower sense that the Śātavāhanas became the lords of *Dakshiṇāpatha*.

The rulers of this dynasty who are described in epigraphical records as belonging to Śātavāhana-kula, are mentioned in the Purāṇas as Āndhras and Āndhra-bhṛityas. The latter are stated to have killed Suśarma, the Kaṇva king, and thereby ended the rule of the Kaṇvas over Magadha. But the Āndhras never ruled in Magadha. The mention of these specifically as Āndhras or Āndhra-bhṛityas by the Purāṇic composers only and never so in the epigraphical records of this family, which invariably call them Śātavāhanas, has led some scholars to question the identity of the Āndhras or Āndhra-bhṛityas with the Śātavāhanas.

The term Āndhra-bhṛitya is sometimes interpreted as Āndhras who were originally *bhṛityas* i e , servants of some other power such as the Maurya or Śuṅga. It is also taken to mean 'Servants of the Āndhras' and interpreted as a reference to the Śātavāhanas, who had settled in the western Deccan, but originally owed allegiance to some Āndhra ruler The term is also assumed to indicate the chiefs like the Ābhīras who were once subordinates of the Āndhras, identified with the Śātavāhanas, but later became independent after the downfall of the latter. We are not concerned with this suggestion here A more acceptable view appears to be that the Śātavāhanas have been wrongly called Āndhras in the Purāṇas, for, by the time the Purāṇic lists came to be compiled they had lost their territories in the north and the west and their rule was confined mostly to the Āndhra country.

The name Śātavāhana in its Sanskrit form has been much discussed without reaching any conclusion. Etymologically it is made up of two words, namely '*sāta*' primarily meaning 'sharpened'

or 'thin' and secondly 'nimble, swift or handsome'; plus *vāhana* meaning 'a vehicle' and particularly 'a horse' in the context. Thus the expression would denote 'one who rides a nimble horse'. Similarly Śātakarni, another familiar name in the family, would be 'one with sharp ears'. *Śāta* may be connected with word *Śata*, meaning hundred; but the derivation from this base would ill suit here. The official language of the family being Prakrit, the name invariably occurs in the record as Śātavāhana. Apart from the etymology of the term, the numismatic evidence points that the family derived the name from its founder called Śātavāhana.

More controversial is the question of their original home. The home of the Śātavāhanas, according to some, was the Telugu country between the rivers Krishṇā and the Gōdāvarī, in the eastern part of peninsular India. They hold the view that the Andhras also occupied this part of the country from the earliest times. Pliny mentions a powerful king of the Āndhra country in eastern Deccan, possessing thirty walled towns as well as an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and 1000 elephants This, coupled with late tradition that the capital of these rulers was Śrīkākulam on the Krishṇā, led to the assumption that the original homeland of the Śātavāhanas was in the Gōdāvarī-Krishṇā region from where they migrated westward. But this argument bears no scrutiny.

On the contrary there is evidence to believe that the Śātavāhanas originally lived in the northern and western parts of the Deccan and only gradually did they move eastward. The earliest epigraphs and coins of the kings of the family have been discovered at Nānāghāṭ and Nasik in the western Deccan. The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravēla of first century B. C. states that he sent a large army to the west without entertaining any fear of Śātakarṇi. This clearly indicates that the territory of the Śātavāhana king lay to the west of his kingdom. The early records of about the second century B. C. are found at Bhaṭṭiprōlu near the mouth of the Krishṇā and they refer to a king Kubēraka who had no connection with the Śātavāhanas. There are no traces of the Śātavāhanas in the east till we come to the period of the second century A. D. when Vāśisṭhīputra

Śrī Pulumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, appears as ruler in the area. From this it would be reasonable to conclude that the Śātavāhanas rose to power in the western Deccan in the region around Pratishṭhāna or modern Paithān, their first and foremost capital which constituted the northern boundary of ancient Karnataka, and that they moved from west to east and not *vice-versa*.

If we propose to draw up a connected account of the Śātavāhana rule we are confronted with difficulties in respect of the number of kings who ruled, the duration of their rule, their genealogy and chronology and the precise dates of the events. According to the different versions narrated in the Purāṇas the number of the kings varies, the lowest being seventeen and the highest thirty. Similarly, the duration of their rule ranges from 300 years at one end to 460 years at the other. There is confusion in regard to the kings' names, their succession and other details also. These discrepancies are apparently due to the fact that by the time the Purāṇas were compiled the Śātavāhana rule had come to an end and in the absence of accurate information their authors relied on hearsay reports and vague traditions from different quarters. However, to improve this situation, a number of epigraphical records and a large number of coins issued by the Śātavāhana kings themselves and their feudatories have been discovered in recent times. Unfortunately, they furnish no dates. Yet, piecing together such fragments we can briefly sketch the main outlines of Śātavāhana history.

Simuka appears to be the founder and first ruler of this dynasty. He came to power supplanting the Kaṇvas who were preceded by the Śuṅgas. The accession of Chandragupta Maurya took place in 324 B. C. The Śuṅgas rose to power 137 years after this event and these kings and their successors, the Kaṇvas, are stated to have ruled for 112 and 45 years respectively. Thus, on the basis of this calculation we can place the commencement of the Śātavāhana rule and Simuka's reign about 30 B. C. Simuka,

it seems, was familiarly known by the epithet *Sātavāhana* which became the dynastic appellation. Another view is that Sātavāhana was Simuka's ancestor and originator of the line and his name came to be applied to the members of the family.

Simuka was succeeded by his brother Kanha or Krishna who in turn was succeeded by his son Sātakarṇi I These three rulers are given the reign periods of 23, 18 and 18 respectively Sātakarṇi was a capable monarch to whom goes the credit of strengthening the Sātavāhana rule and raising it to the status of sovereignty. This he achieved by conquests in which he must have been assisted by his military officers belonging to the families of Rathikas and Bhōjas. These gained ascendancy in course of time as potentates and provincial governors Sātakarṇi's queen Nāganikā was a distinguished lady of the Maharathi family. It has been suggested that basically this Nāganikā is a Kannada na ne Sātakarṇi is described in an inscription as 'Lord of Dakshiṇāpatha, wielder of the unchecked wheel of sovereignty' He is said to have performed one *Rajasūya*, two *Āsvamēdha* and several other Vedic sacrifices His sway extended over the regions of the upper Deccan and portions of central and western India including Konkaṇ

There was a break in the supremacy of the Sātavāhanas for about a century after the rule of Sātakarṇi I The adversaries whose onslaught brought about this calamity were the Śakas or the foreign tribe of Scythians who had migrated from east Iran and settled in the lower Sindhu valley They gathered strength and extended their sway gradually over northern Maharashtra, Konkan, Kathiawar, Malwa and southern Rajaputana During this period of temporary eclipse, the members of the Sātavāhana family continued their humble existence in obscurity.

The later scion of the family who restored its fallen fortunes and reestablished Sātavāhana suzerainty was Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi This feat was achieved by devastating the foreign hordes of the Scythians alongwith the Indo-Greeks and the Parthians who had joined hands with them to encroach upon the

territories of western and central India and had penetrated into the Deccan. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi's formidable rival was Śaka Nahapāna of the Kshaharāta family whom he routed and killed on the battle field On account of these successes he is fittingly described in glowing terms as 'one whose triumphant banner never suffered defeat', 'the destroyer of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas', 'extirpator of the Kshaharāta dynasty' and 'establisher of the glory of the Śātavāhana family' This event took place about 124-25 A D On account of these resounding victories Gautamīputra's fame spread far and wide The court poet who drafted his eulogy in the Nasik cave inscription of his son Vāśishthīputra Pulumāvi credits him, in hyperbolic terms, with the supremacy over the entire southern peninsula stretching from the Vindhyan region, bounded by the three seas (*trisamudratōya-pīta-vahana*)

Gautamīputra's reign extended for about a quarter of century from c 106 to 130 A. D. Not only was he an unequalled military leader but also a benevolent and diligent governer Handsome in appearance with radiant face and well-built body, he possessed an impressive personality Virtuous, noble and generous, he was reluctant to hurt even an offending enemy and imparted fearlessness to all. He evinced keen interest in the welfare of his subjects and helped them in their sorrows and difficulties Gautamīputra saved the land from the bane of foreign domination and brought peace and prosperity to his subjects.

Gautamīputra's monumental deeds lingered on long in the memory of generations and in the course of centuries, imaginative legends were built up around his hallowed name One such is the popular tale of Śālivāhana, born in a potter's house at Pratishthâna, who is said to have vanquished the invading forces with his miraculous powers Śālivāhana, it may be noted, is derived from Śātavāhana The tradition attributing the origin of the Śālivāhana era to a king of this family has no historical basis. The Śātavāhana kings mentioned their regnal years only for the sake of reckoning and there is no trace of any era being

used in their epigraphical records. Though a Śaka reckoning in the beginning, it was fathered upon a Sātavāhana king, most probably Gautamīputra, after the lapse of several centuries.

At the end of his reign Gautamīputra suffered reverses at the hands of the powerful potentate Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman of the Śaka family, governing the Kathiawar region. As a result some northern tracts conquered by him were lost by the Sātavāhanas.

Gautamīputra's son and successor Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi who ruled for about twenty-nine years from c. 130 to 159 A. D., extended his dominions to the east in the region of the mouth of the river Kṛishṇā. In the south, the Bellary region appears to have been annexed to the Sātavāhana empire at this period The next distinguished ruler was Yajnaśrī Sātakarṇi (c 174 to 203 A. D.) He gained victories against the Śakas in the northern and western parts and drove them away He was the last great king of the family and after him the Sātavāhana power disintegrated.

The Sātavāhana dynasty had been split up into branches and the chiefs of the collateral families ruled simultaneously with the main line, or subsequently, over smaller regions. One such was the family that ruled in Kuntala comprising most of present Karnataka. Two well-known kings of this line appear to be Kuntala Sātakarṇi and Hāla

The Sātavāhanas were the first and the earliest rulers hailing from the south, who established their sovereignty over large areas of central, western, eastern and southern India and rose to imperial eminence. They successfully hurled back more than once the incursions of the alien clans and freed the motherland from foreign aggression. Though adherents of Vedic traditions themselves, they adopted the catholic policy of fostering all religious faiths. They made munificent gifts for the promotion of religion, learning and art. Under their patronage the Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina doctrines thrived. They encouraged indu-

stry, trade and commerce and contributed to the wealth, prosperity and happiness of the people. Well-organized guilds of traders and craftsmen functioned efficiently without official interference. As a result of the growth of inland as well as overseas trade through imports and exports with the countries of the east and the west, towns, cities, ports and harbours rose in importance. The Greek mariners and ships played a prominent role in the commercial activity of the western waters. Among the cities, market-towns and harbours that figure in the records of this period the following few may be noted. Ujjayini, Vidiśā, Nāsik, Pratishṭhāna, Bōdhan, Tagara, Broach, Kalyāṇa, Sōpara, Junnar, Karāḍ, Banavāsi and Dhānyakaṭaka.

As explained above, of all the regions held in relation with the Śātavāhanas in respect of cultural bonds, Karnataka appears to have stood in an advantageous position. The language and the people of this area who were in a progressive state and stood in the vanguard of civilization at this time, appear to have exercised influence on these enlightened rulers. Further indication of this contact may perhaps be traced in the popularity of the Śalivāhana legend, prevalence of the Śaka era in the early records of Karnataka and its later conversion into Śālivāhana Śaka and the spectacular observance of the new year in Chaitra to mark the victory over the foreign foe.

We have stated above that if not the rulers of the main line, some members of the collateral branch of the Śātavahana house were closely associated with Karnataka This is further supported from the following facts The Purāṇas mention a king Kuntala Śātakarṇi and this name occurs in Vatsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*. Rājaśēkhara, the author of the *Kāvyamīmāmsā* names a king of Kuntala as a Śātavāhana. The Śātavāhana king Hāla, author of *Gāthāsaptaśati*, is believed to have been the king of Kuntala The Tālagunda inscription of Śāntivarma states that before the Kadambas, Śātakarṇi and other rulers worshipped god Praṇavēśvara of that place. This statement loses its sense unless it is held that these rulers resided in the

vicinity of this locality. The Nasik inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi states that the king issued orders while camping at Vaijayantī i. e. Banavāsi in North Kanara district. There is an inscription of Pulumāvi, a later Śātavāhana ruler of the third century A. D, at Myākadōni, near Bellary While this record refers to the area around as Śātavāhanihāra i e. the *āhāra* (district) of the Śātavāhanas, the Pallava copper plate grant discovered at Hirehadagali, also in Bellary district, asserts that the region near about this place was known as *Sātāhaniratta* i e. *Śatavāhana-rāshṭra* or the territory of the Śātavahanas A good number of coins of the feudatories of the Śātavāhanas have been found in the Chitradurga and other areas in Mysore State

There is evidence to show that the Kannada language was prevalent during the period of the Śātavāhanas The place-name Pounnata mentioned by Ptolemy in the second century A. D. is a modification of Kannada Punnāta. This occurs in the Chandravalli inscription of Mayūraśarma It is identified with the area around the Heggadadēvanakōte taluk of Mysore district It is referred to in the Tamil poem, *Kalavali* of about the 6th century A. D, wherein the Chōla chief Cenganan is described as lord of Punalnādu, same as Punnāta Ptolemy also refers to Sire Polemaios i e Śrī Pulimoy (Pulumāvi) the Śatavāhana king Pulimey appears to be a Kannada name like Pulikēśi, meaning tiger In his Prakrit work, *Gāthāsaptaśati*, Hāla uses Kannada terms like *potta* and *tuppa* besides the ancient verbal roots like *tī*, (to be able) and *pitta* (to strike) These point to the prevalence of Kannada as a developed language in the Śātavāhana empire

The Chutus

During the 3rd century A D Karnataka saw the rule of the Chutus who appear to have been feudatories of the Śatavāhanas and also connected with that family Two inscriptions of this family have been found, one at Malavalli in Shimoga district, and another at Banavāsi in North Kanara district. The former mentions the king Viṇhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi as the

ruler of Banavāsi and is dated the second year of the ruler. The other record, dated the 12th regnal year, refers to Vinhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi's daughter, Śivaskandanāgaśrī and her son whose name is not given. Palaeographically the Malavalli inscription appears to be later than the Banavāsi inscription. Further, the unnamed son of Śivaskandanāgaśrī is described as *yuvarāja* in the latter record From this it is possible to infer that Śātakarṇi of the Malavalli inscription was the son of Śivaskandanāgaśrī. The above discussion yields the following genealogy.

Vinhukada Chutukulānanda Śātakarṇi I
|
Śivaskandanāgaśrī
|
Vinhukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi II

It may be noted that some coins of the Chutus, bearing the legend *Chuṭukulānanda* have been found in the Karwar district.

The name Śivaskandanāgaśrī of the Banavāsi inscription is reminiscent of the name Śivaskandavarma borne by rulers of the Pallava family. But no inference can be drawn from this. Apart from this, we have to consider the question of the possible occupation of a region or a part of Karnataka by the Pallavas in the period of the 2nd-4th centuries A D. The Hirehadagali plates of Śivaskandavarma seem to afford positive evidence of Pallava rule in Karnataka though the details of the event are not available It is noteworthy that Mayuraśarma is said to have carved out his new kingdom by vanquishing the Pallava overlords

With the rise of the Kadambas, Karnataka enters a brighter period of history and we get copious information of the land and the dynasties that ruled there, through the sources which begin to appear in abundance.

The Early Kadambas

Records belonging to the 11th–12th centuries of the later Kadamba families ascribe legendary origins to that family. According to one account the originator of this family was a person known as Trilōchana Kadamba who had three eyes and four hands. He was born out of the sweat of Śiva which had fallen under a Kadamba tree. Hence his name Kadamba His son was Mayūravarma, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty. Another legend is to the effect that Mayūravarma himself was born under the Kadamba tree. As he had also a third eye on the forehead, the crown had to be tied to his knee instead of his forehead. Since he grew under the Kadamba tree his dynasty came to be named after that tree A third story narrates that, after Paraśurāma created the Haiga and Tulu countries, Śiva and Pārvati came to Sahyādri and there a child was born to the divine couple. Since the birth took place under a Kadamba tree that child got the name Kadamba. There is also a Jaina tradition according to which Mayūravarma was the son of the sister of Ānanda Jinavratīndra In some later records the name Kadamba occurs in its cerebralised form Kaḍamba

But all these are legends which originated several centuries later by which time probably the real origin of the family had been forgotten and the later poets intended to glorify the dynasty either by associating it with god Śiva or by giving it a supernatural character by ascribing a third eye to its founder. The name Kadamba obviously supplied material for their imagination, the Kadamba flower being the most loved flower of Pārvati.

Mayūraśarma

The Tālagunda inscription of Śāntivarma elucidates the circumstances that led to the founding of the kingdom by Mayūraśarma. He was a Brāhmaṇa of Mānavya-gōtra in the lineage of Hāriti. The Kadamba tree that grew near his ancestral home gave the family its name. The Brāhmaṇa went to Kānchī with his *guru* Vīraśarma for the prosecution of Vedic studies at the *ghaṭikā* there. Kānchī was then the capital of the

Pallavas. There, owing to some misunderstanding between him and a mounted Pallava guard, a quarrel arose in which Mayuraśarma was humiliated. This led to his discontinuance of studies and taking recourse to arms. The record describes how this learned Brahmaṇa, insulted by the behaviour of the guard, with the 'hand dexterous in grasping the *kuśa* grass, the fuel and the stones, the ladle, the melted butter and the oblation vessel, unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth.' He collected an army and defeated the Pallava officers guarding the frontiers and occupied the area upto Śrīparvata. He then subdued the Bṛihad-Bāṇa and other kings and collected tributes from them. Foiled in their attempts to subdue him, the Pallava rulers finally felt it wise to compromise with him and acknowledged his sway over the territory from the western ocean to Prēhāra.

This narration indicates that Mayūraśarma was a tough opponent of the Pallavas and that they reconciled with him by surrendering a part of their territory. But the ambitious Mayuraśarma was not satisfied with this subordinate position. Soon, he defied the authority of the Pallavas and declared himself independent. His inscription at Chandravalli, which is to be placed in the 4th century A. D., names the countries and kings he conquered. They were the Traikūtakas, Ābhīras, Pallavas, Pāriyātraka, Śakasthāna, Mokari, Punnāṭa and Sayindakas. Pāriyātraka, was the region of the western ghats between the Aravali and the Vindhyas. Sayindakas were the Sēndrakas governing a part of Shimoga area while Punnāṭa was the territory between the Kāvērī and Kapini rivers near Mysore. Though it is not improbable that Mayuraśarma came in conflict with some of these kings, it is doubtful if he went as far as the Śakasthāna and Mokhari which are identified with the territories of the Śakas of Ujjayini and the Maukharis of Rajasthan.

One of the Prakrit inscriptions at Malavalli, engraved below the record of the Chuṭu king, is also taken to belong to Mayuraśarma. The inscription tells us that a Kadamba king renewed certain grants made earlier by Śivaskandavarma, probably of the Pallava family.

It may be noted that while this first king of the Kadamba dynasty is described as a *dvijōttama* and had the name ending *Śarma*, the names of the later members of the family end with *varma* thus leading to the suggestion that they were Kshatriyas. It follows therefore that originally Brāhmaṇas, the Kadambas started naming themselves like the Kshatriyas after acquiring the kingdom.

Kangavarma, Bhagīratha and Raghu

Mayūraśarma has been assigned a period of 20 years of rule from c 325–45 A D. He was succeeded by his son Kangavarma who is described as receiving obeisance from a number of chiefs of *maṇḍalas* It has been surmised that the next king, his son, Bhagīratha, had to face the menace of enemies, whom, however, he could overcome His son was Raghu who consolidated his rule over the kingdom and made it secure for his successors. But we know practically nothing regarding these three rulers who ruled between c. 345–405 A. D.

Kākusthavarma

Raghu was succeeded by his brother Kākusthavarma about 405 A. D. The Kadamba kingdom founded by Mayūraśarma rose to prominence during the days of Kākusthavarma. He was involved in wars with the Pallavas. He fostered friendship with the neighbouring kings through matrimonial alliances. The Tālagunda inscription states that he maintained such relationship with the imperial Guptas The Gupta contemporary of his was Kumāragupta (415–455 A D.). It is likely that a Kadamba princess, daughter of Kākusthavarma, was married to Kumāragupta's son Skandagupta The Vākāṭaka king Narēndrasēna is said to have married Ajjhitabhaṭṭarikā, the daughter of Kuntalēśvara or lord of Kuntala The lord of Kuntala who was the contemporary of Narēndrasēna was Kākusthavarma Thus, it is likely that Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā was Kākusthavarma's daughter. Another inscription from Tālagunda states that one other daughter

of Kākusthavarma was married to a chief of the Bhaṭāri family who was probably his feudatory It may be noted the Halmidi inscription mentions a member of the Bhaṭāri family. The Ganga king Avinīta, son of Mādhava III, is described as the nephew of Kākusthavarma's second son Kṛishṇavarma I whose younger sister had been given in marriage to Mādhava. Avinīta would thus be a grandson of Kākusthavarma born to his daughter It has been suggested that Kṛishṇavarma I and his sister were born to a different wife of Kākusthavarma whose elder son, Śāntivarma was therefore not co-uterine After Kākusthavarma, the Kadamba kingdom came to be divided between his two sons, Śāntivarma and Kṛishṇavarma I Both those princes commenced their independent rule simultaneously at Banavāsi and Triparvata respectively.

Śāntivarma

At Banavāsi, Śāntivarma succeeded his father Kākusthavarma in c 430 A. D. Although the Talagunda inscription was recorded during the reign period of Kākusthavarma, the fact that its author Kubja composed it at the instance of Śāntivarma who is described as king (*nṛipati*), suggests that Śāntivarma ruled jointly for some years with his father during the last years of the latter's rule. Śāntivarma had to face opposition from the enemies who were probably the Pallavas The Halsi plates of Mṛigēśavarma state that he freed the kingdom from his enemies. He ruled till c. 455 A. D

Mṛigēśavarma

Mṛigēśavarma, son of Śāntivarma succeeded him in c. 455 A. D. The policy of territorial expansion of the Kadamba kings necessarily brought them into conflict with the Gangas and the Pallavas against whom almost every succeeding member waged wars. Mṛigēśavarma further expanded the kingdom and we notice that, in addition to Banavāsi, Palāśikā, i. e. Halsi in Khanapur taluk of Belgaum district was made a secondary capital of the Kadamba dominions. Mṛigēśavarma's queen

Prabhāvatī belonged to the Kaikēya family and to them was born Ravivarma. His two other sons were Bhānuvarma and Śivaratha.

In c. 480 A D. the kingdom passed into the hands of Śivamāndhātṛivarma, brother of Mṛigēśavarma, probably because Ravivarma was too young to succeed to the throne at the time of his father's death. Śivamāndhātṛivarma's reign was short and uneventful. He ruled for about five years between c. 480 and 485 A. D.

Ravivarma

Ravivarma received his kingdom back from his uncle about 485 A. D. The traditional enmity with the Pallavas continued during his period also He is said to have defeated Vishṇuvarma in a severe fight and killed Chaṇḍadaṇḍēśa who is described as Kānchīpati, i e the lord of Kānchī Though Chaṇḍadaṇḍēśa is called the lord of Kānchī, he cannot be identified with any contemporary Pallava king Probably he belonged to a minor family of the Pallavas A record of Ravivarma describes that his kingdom extended upto the Narmadā which is obviously an exaggeration. During his period, Uchchaśṛingi, i e. Uchchangi in Bellary district, also became a secondary capital in addition to Halsi.

Ravivarma's regin was a long one His latest known record is dated in his 35th regnal year and probably that was the last year of his regin His two brothers Bhānuvarma and Śivaratha were stationed respectively at Palāśikā (i e. Halsi) and Uchchaśṛingi (i.e. Uchchangi), perhaps as provincial governors Ravivarma ruled between c 485 and 519 A D.

Harivarma

Ravivarma's son Harivarma was the last of the Kadamba kings in Śāntivarma's line. A few years after the commencement of his rule, he had to face the onslaught of Krishṇavarma II

of the Triparvata line. Krishṇavarma II succeeded in defeating Harivarma and captured his capital Banavāsi It was during this period that Chālukya Pulakēśi I was slowly rising to power. Finding an opportune moment, he managed to oust the Kadambas and establish himself as an independent ruler in their territory.

Harivarma's record from Sangolli, dated in his 8th regnal year corresponding to 526 A. D. speaks of him as ruling from Vaijayantī i. e. Banavāsi. His defeat at the hands of Krishṇavarma II therefore will have to be placed some time after this date. Bhānuśakti, a chief of the Sēndraka family, was a feudatory of Harivarma We do not hear of any successor of Harivarma. It appears from a record that he had a daughter who was married to the Sāntara chief named Tyāgisāntara.

It has been stated earlier that Krishṇavarma I, the second son of Kakusthavarma, commenced to rule independently at Triparvata while his brother Śāntivarma became the ruler of Banavāsi. The identity of Triparvata cannot be established with certainty. While some connect it with Śrīparvata, i. e. Śrīśailam in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, some have taken it to be the same as Halebīd in Hassan district. The suggestion that it is the same as Śrīparvata or Śrīśailam is untenable. Scholars like Pathak have proposed to identify it with the present Murgōḍ in Belgaum district. This appears to be more probable.

Krishṇavarma I

Two events mark the reign of Krishṇavarma I, who ruled between c. 430-460 A. D. One of them was the conquest of the Nāgas and the second, the fight with the Pallavas. The Nāgas appear to have been the Sēndraka feudatories It has been stated above that Bhānuśakti, a Sēndraka chief, was a feudatory of Harivarma. An earlier member of this family might have had a clash with this branch of the Kadambas.

The Pallava chief with whom Krishṇavarma fought was probably Naṇakkāsa Pallava. The identity of this chief cannot

be established with accuracy but it is possible to surmise that he was connected with the main line of the Pallavas of Kānchī. In the battle with this chief, the Kaikēya chief Śivaskandavarma lost his life. He was probably a relative of Krishṇavarma whose wife belonged to this family.

Krishṇavarma performed the Aśvamēdha sacrifice which is an indication of his political status It is not known as to when he celebrated this rite It has been suggested that the sacrifice was performed to mark his victory over the Pallavas As against this, some scholars hold that he actually lost his life in the battle with the Pallavas. But the former assumption appears to be more probable.

Krishṇavarma had two sons, Vishṇuvarma and Dēvavarma Though younger, the latter was designated *yuvarāja* during Krishṇavarma's life time The reason for this, however, is not known. As stated above, Krishṇavarma had also a sister who was married to Ganga Mādhava III Krishṇavarma ruled between c. 430 and 460 A D.

Vishṇuvarma, Simhavarma

Though his brother Dēvavarma was *yuvarāja*, Vishṇuvarma succeeded in securing the throne for himself It is said that a Pallava chief Śāntivarma, whose identity cannot be established, helped him in getting the throne It indicates that Vishṇuvarma forced his way to the throne by defeating his brother Dēvavarma, the king-designate Vishṇuvarma's reign-period can be fixed between c. 460 and 490 A D.

Vishṇuvarma was succeeded by his son Simhavarma. No record of his has been found and no information regarding his career has come forth. Approximately c 490 to 516 A. D. may be fixed as the period of his reign

Krishṇavarma II

Krishṇavarma II succeeded his father Simhavarma about 516 A. D. The two Kadamba families – and consequently the

partitioned kingdom – were united again during his period, when Kṛishṇavarma defeated Harivarma, his contemporary of the main line and established himself in the latter's capital Vaijayantī or Banavāsi He accomplished this victory before the 8th year of his reign, and became the sole master of the Kadamba territories. It was at this juncture that Pulakēśi I, the ambitious Chālukya chief who was probably a subordinate of the Kadambas, inflicted a defeat on Kṛishṇavarma and established himself as an independent ruler. This event probably took place about 540 A. D. Soon after, he built a fort at Bādāmi, which he chose for his capital and performed the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. This was the last year of Kṛishavarma's reign. With him the independent rule of the Kadambas came to a close.

Kṛishṇavarma had two sons Ajavarma and Ravivarma and the former's son was Bhōgivarma. It is likely that they held some authority in the order of succession, but none of them could enjoy any independent status.

The decline

The Kadamba dynasty was overpowered by the Chālukyas, but it did not become extinct altogether In the early days of the Chālukya rule, we hear two names of the chiefs of the Kadamba family, Kumāravarma and his son Māndhāta, who were at Uchchaśṛingi Two other Kadamba chiefs known to have belonged to this period are Madhuvarma and Dāmodara. In the absence of details, it is difficult to connect them with the main Kadamba family. It is likely that they held some subordinate positions under the subsequent Chālukya rulers. Kīrtivarma I and Pulakēśi II, claim to have defeated the Kadambas, who probably were connected with the main line and tried to oppose the new power.

Extent of the kingdom

The Kadambas ruled for over two centuries. A good number of epigraphical records of these kings have been found. All of them mention names of places and territories. From a study of

these names it is possible to form an idea of the extent of their kingdom. Mayūraśarma is stated in the Tālagunda inscription to have obtained from the Pallavas, the territory from the western sea to Prēhāra. The latter is conjectured to be the Malaprabhā river. His inscription, found at Chandravalli, enumerates the countries he is said to have conquered Though not all, at least some regions mentioned in them, such as the Punnāta and Sayindaka, might have been included in his kingdom. Punnata is the area between the Kāvērī and the Kapini rivers near Mysore. Sayindaka, i e. Sēndraka, was the territory of the Sēndrakas, in Shimoga district Sthānakundūra or Tālagunda in Shikarpur taluk was the original home of the Kadambas Palāśikā, Vaijayanti and Uchchaśringi are mentioned as their capitals. They are respectively, Halsi in Belgaum district, Banavāsi in North Kanara district and Uchchangi in Bellary district From their geographical situations and from the find-spots of their records it can be surmised that roughly the area comprising Belgaum, North Kanara, Shimoga, Chitradurga and Bellary districts formed the Kadamba kingdom at its zenith.

Though the Kadamba rulers lost their entity as a political power after the rise of the Chālukyas, the Kadamba chiefs as such did not vanish from Karnataka.

Till as late as the beginning of the 14th century, many princely families, belonging to this Kadamba stock ruled in different parts of Karnataka, as feudatory chiefs of contemporary ruling dynasties Noteworthy among such are the Kadambas of Hāngal with sway over the Sirsi–Hāngal area and the Kadambas of Goa ruling over Goa and other adjacent regions of Karwar and Belgaum districts Smaller families of the same stock held subordinate positions in parts of Dharwar and Raichur districts. under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Sēuṇas.

The Gangas of Talakāḍ

As in the case of the Kadambas of Banavāsi, several legends are narrated regarding the origin of the Gangas also. One of them

occurring in a late record of the 10th century states that the forefathers of the family were ruling in the north first from Ayōdhyāpura and then from Ahichchhatrapura. Two princes of that family, Daḍiga and Mādhava, migrated to Gangapērūr in the south and here the latter established a kingdom of 96000 with Nandagiri (Nandi hills near Bangalore) as their stronghold and Kuvalāla (Kolar) as their capital. Gangapērur, referred to above, is now a village of the same name in the Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh.

The early inscriptions of the family state that Konguṇivarma. the first ruler, belonged to Jāhnavēya-kula (hailing from the region of the Ganga) and Kāṇvāyana-gōtra, and that he carved out a kingdom for himself by his own strength of arms. These sources further narrate that the Ganga kingdom was established with the help and blessings of the Jaina teacher Simhanandi and that Mādhava was the first ruler. They do not mention Daḍiga.

Genealogy & Chronology

For want of proper details in the copper plate records of this dynasty it has become difficult to fix the genealogy and chronology of its kings. A number of such copper-plate inscriptions of the rulers of this dynasty had earlier been brushed aside by Dr. Fleet as spurious. But later on he changed his opinion and accepted that only Durvinīta really ruled the kingdom. It would be unfair to stamp all the records of the early rulers as spurious, though it may be accepted that a few of them are not genuine. Under the circumstances the problems of the genealogy and chronology of the family have not yet been satisfactorily solved. They are discussed in the Appendix below.

That Konguṇivarma was the first ruler of this dynasty and that his son was Mādhava I has generally been accepted. Mādhava I had a son Harivarma, also referred to as Āryavarma or Kṛishṇavarma. It is argued that these three names are of three different sons who originated three different branches of the family viz., Paruvi, Kaivāra and Talakāḍ. But the records of

Avinīta of Talakād show that Paruvi-vishaya (i. e. Paruvi region) was within his kingdom Hence, it is difficult to agree with the above view Krishnavarma is said to have had two sons, Mādhava II also called Simhavarma and Vishnugōpa, besides Vīravarma, who is known to have died during the reign period of his elder brother. Vishnugōpa's son Mādhava III was known more familiarly as Tadangāla Madhava, and his son was Avinīta. From here onwards there is not much of complication regarding the genealogy of the family

Similarly, there is confusion regarding their chronology. The Pallava king Simhavarma is said to have been instrumental in bringing Harivarma or Krishnavarma to the Ganga throne and it was this that made the latter call his son Simhavarma after his patron, though his name was Mādhava (II) Even this Mādhava is said to have been anointed by Pallava Skandavarma. The only evidence available for fixing the dates of these two Pallava kings is the Jaina work *Lōkavibhaga* which refers to the 22nd year of Pallava Simhavarma as corresponding to Śaka 380 i. e., 458 A. D But there is a doubt regarding the genuineness of this statement Scholars like H Krishnasastri do not accept the date of Pallava Simhavarma arrived at on the basis of the statement made in *Lōkavibhaga* Madhava III is known to have married the sister of Kadamba Krishnavarma I This is an important point in fixing the chronology of the Gangas, which is discussed in the Appendix below

Konguṇivarma

As stated earlier, Konguṇivarma was the founder of the kingdom. According to the legendary account, this prince received a sword from the Jaina preceptor Simhanandi-āchārya and with it struck at a stone pillar which broke into two, later he obtained a kingdom also, with the help of this preceptor. We do not have any information regarding the events of this period.

Mādhava I to Vishṇugōpa

Konguṇivarma's son Madhava I succeeded his father in about 350 A. D. The Śāsanakōṭa copper plate inscription of the first

year of his reign is the earliest and genuine record of this dynasty. He had a son Harivarma also called Āryavarma or Krishṇavarma. Mādhava II *alias* Simhavarma, son of Harivarma was crowned by Pallava Skandavarma. He expanded his dominions with the strength of his arms Mādhava had a younger brother named Vishṇugōpa Some scholars, however, identify the two, taking Vishṇugōpa as another name of Madhava. It is, however, difficult to arrive at any conclusion on this point.

Mādhava III

Mādhava III, who succeeded his father Vishṇugōpa, ruled for about 30 years between 440 and 469 A. D. By then, the Gangas had come into conflict with the Kadambas probably because the latter were inimical with the Pallavas It is perhaps with an idea of patching up their differences that Kadamba Kākusthavarma gave his daughter in marriage to Mādhava III.

Avinita

Avinīta was perhaps one or two years old when he succeeded his father, for, the Bangalore Residency plates state that he was coronated even while he was yet a child on his mother's lap. However, he appears to have counted his regnal years only from the date of his personally taking over charge of the administration about 469 A. D.

Before his 25th regnal year, he put down the *sāmantas* who were probably the feudatories that had tried to assert independence taking advantage of his young age Some other conquests are also vaguely ascribed to him for which the details are not available. The Hosakōṭe plates of his 12th year, record a grant by the king, to a Jaina temple got built by the mother of the Pallava king Simhavishṇu Neither her name nor her relationship with Avinīta is known. The Pallava kings were devotees of either Vishṇu or Śiva and the fact that the Pallava queen-mother had a Jaina temple built within the Ganga territory seems to suggest that she belonged to the Ganga family.

Durvinīta

Avinīta had a son named Durvinīta, who was born to Jyēshṭhādēvī, daughter of Skandavarma, the king of Punnāṭa. Durvinīta's accession to the throne was not smooth, for, he had to wrest the kingdom from his younger step-brother who was selected by Avinīta to succeed him, in preference to his elder son. It is not known, however, who this brother of Durvinīta was. Durvinīta was also known as Nirvinīta.

Durvinīta is said to have defeated and killed the enemies in the battles of Ālattūr, Poruḷare and Pernagara. The details of these battles, however, are not known. That Durvinīta was the lord of Punnāṭa and Pāṇṇāṭa is known from his records. Punnāṭa is said to have been sanctified by the rivers Kāvērī and the Kapilā. As already pointed above, it is the territory situated to the west of Mysore district with Kīrtipura as its capital As Durvinīta's mother was the daughter of Skandavarma of Punnāṭa, it is likely that the latter had no sons and so this province passed into the hands of Durvinīta

This king ruled for about 50 years from 529 A D. to 579 A.D. He was a great scholar himself besides being a patron of literature. He was the author of *Śabdāvatāra*, translated the *Vaḍḍakathā* of Guṇāḍhya and wrote a commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi who was his contemporary.

Mushkara to Śivamāra I

Durvinīta had three sons, the names of two of them being Mushkara and Polavīra The name of the third is not known We do not have any records of Mushkara who ascended the throne in c 579 A. D. He married the daughter of Sindhurāja. His brother Polavīra is said to have been crowned by Kāḍuveṭṭi and Vallavarasa. Though we are not definite regarding the identity of these two kings, it is thought that they might be the Pallava and the Chālukya rulers respectively. It is not known how and under what circumstances these two kings favoured the Ganga prince. There might have been some trouble after

Mushkara's death which stood in the way of Polavīra's accession. It has been surmised that a younger step-brother of Durvinīta tried to prevent Polavīra's accession.

Polavīra was succeeded by his nephew Śrīvikrama (c. 629–54 A. D) after whom his son Bhūvikrama (c 654–679 A D) ruled. Bhuvikrama had to fight a great battle with the Pallavas at Vilande This battle was probably fought against Pallava Paramēśvaravarma I. Bhūvikrama was known also as Śrīvallabha and had the title *Manōvinīta*.

Śivamāra I

Bhuvikrama was succeeded by his younger brother Śivamāra I *alias* Navakāma. He bore the epithets *Śishṭapriya*, *Avanī mahēndra*, *Sthiravinīta* etc. Not much is known about this king whose Halligēri plates are dated in his 34th regnal year and Śaka 635. This makes Śaka 601 (679 A. D.) his first year of rule. He had several feudatories, one of whom, Ereganga, was administering Kongalnāḍu–2000, Torenādu–500 and Male–1000 divisions. His other feudatories were Pallavēlarasa, Tuppurālarasa and Jaya and Vriddha, sons of Pallava Yuvarāja. As he was succeeded by his grandson Śrīpurusha we may surmise that Śivamāra I's son predeceased his father.

Śrīpurusha

Śrīpurusha ruled for a long period of over 60 years (c. 725–88). During his reign he had to fight hard and inconclusive battles with the contemporary Pallava kings The Pallava king Nandivarma Pallavamalla attacked Kuvalāla, the Ganga capital, sometime before 754 A. D. and it is stated that recovered from the Ganga ruler a necklace which contained a precious gem called *ugrōdaya*. But the fact that Kolar and Tumkur districts continued to remain within the domains of Śrīpurusha indicates that the Pallava king was repulsed by the Ganga. There is reason to believe that when Chālukya Vikramāditya II met the Pallava king in battle in Tuṇḍāka–vishaya, Śrīpurusha stood

by the side of his master, the Chālukya king, and the Pallava king was defeated by them in his own country Perhaps it is after this that Nandivarma attacked Gangavādi.

After succeeding to the Chālukya empire, the Rāshtrakutas tried to subdue the Gangas. Krishṇa I proceeded against Śrīpurusha and we find him camping in this area, at Mānyapura (Maṇṇe) in 768 A D Hero-stones of Śrīpurusha's period bear testimony to the grim resistance offered by him in the battles fought at Bāgeyur and Pinchanur On account of this stiff opposition the Rāshtrakutas retreated and the area north of Maṇṇe remained under the Ganga king Some portions of the Ganga country however, were conquered by the enemy. It was during this period that the Nolambas, who were feudatories of the Gangas, changed their allegiance to the Rāshtrakutas, but this was only for a short period during the reigns of Krishṇa I and Gōvinda II But soon the Nolambas were subdued by the Gangas and made to accept their suzerainty

Śrīpurusha was involved in a conflict with the Pāṇḍyas also. The circumstance as narrated in epigraphs is like this. A princess of the Ganga family was kidnapped and given in marriage to the Pāṇḍya king Termāra At this time Vallabha i. e. the Chālukya king attacked the Pāṇḍyas, but was defeated in the battle of Veṇbai If this account is reliable we will have to surmise that Śrīpurusha who was the Ganga king came into conflict with the Pāṇḍyas. The Chālukya king who sided the Gangas in this conflict is surmised to be Kīrtivarma II.

Śrīpurusha had three wives, one Vijayamahādēvī, a Chālukya princess, another, Nolamba Mādava, of the Nolamba family and a third whose name is not known. He had three sons, Duggamāra, Ereyappa, Śivamāra II and Vijayāditya.

Śivamāra II

Till his last days, Śrīpurusha fought hard to maintain his sovereignty against the Rāshṭrakuṭas. All attempts made by

Gōvinda II and his successor Dhruva were in vain as long as Śrīpurusha was alive. However, when Śivamāra II succeeded Śrīpurusha sometime after 788 A D., Dhruva immediately attacked and defeated him in the battle of Mudugundūr, though Śivamāra claims victory over the Rāshtrakuṭa Śivamāra was even pursued and taken captive by Dhruva who appointed his own eldest son Stambha or Kamba as the governor of Gangamaṇḍala thereafter.

Dhruva was succeeded by his son Gōvinda III who, on finding that Kamba was trying to seize the throne, freed Śivamāra from captivity and sent him back to his territory. In the records of *Yuvarāja* Mārasimha, son of Śivamāra II, it is stated that the latter was apointed on the throne by Rāshtrakuṭa Gōvinda and Pallava Nandivarma Obviously, Gōvinda III released Śivamāra from captivity and reinstated him in power to win his good will and set him against Kamba. But Śivamara refused to be a subordinate of Gōvinda and as a consequence found himself once again in prison His son *Yuvarāja* Mārasimha was placed on the Ganga throne in about 796 A. D. Gōvinda and Kamba compromised their differences, after the latter was defeated by his brother A direct result of this was that Kamba was once again placed in charge of Gangamaṇḍala sometime after 799 A D on which date we find Mārasimha ruling over his ancestral kingdom and before 802 A. D when Kamba was governing the area. But we do not know what happened to either Marasimha or Kamba thereafter as we find Chākirāja as the governer of the Ganga country in 812 A. D.

Vijayāditya to Ereganga

It is suggested, with the help of some doubtful records, that Śivamāra II survived the catastrophe and tried to assert his independence. But no reliable information about him, after his second imprisonment by Gōvinda III, is available. But soon after Amōghavarsha's accession to the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne, the Ganga country passed into the hands of Vijayāditya, younger

brother of Śivamāra II, as the heir Pṛithvīpati I, the latter's second son was still too young to rule. Vijayāditya, however, did not accept the power and passed on the throne to his son Rāchamalla I who thus inherited the Ganga kingdom barring the territory which was under the control of the Rāshṭrakūṭa general Bankēśa. Rāchamalla entered into matrimonial alliance with the Noḷambas by giving his daughter Jāyabbe in marriage to Poḷalchōra. The efforts made by Rachamalla I to assert independence were later on continued by his son Nītimārga Ereganga who succeeded him in 843 A. D. At last a severe battle was fought at Rājārāmaḍu where the Ganga prince met the enemy force led by Bankēśa. The result was, however, indecisive Amōghavarsha, convinced that the Gangas were too defiant to be subdued, entered into matrimonial alliance with them by giving his daughter Chandrobbalabbe in marriage to Būtuga I, younger son of Ereganga.

Rāchamalla II

Rāchamalla II, elder son of Ereganga, succeeded his father in 870 A. D. In his time, the Gangas were constantly at war with the Bāṇas, the Vaidumbas and their own subordinates the Nolambas. Nanniya Ganga, a son of Pṛithvīpati I (and therefore a grandson of Śivamāra II) rose in revolt against Rāchamalla II, for, the Ganga throne which had passed on to the latter's grandfather Rāchamalla I, ought, by right, to have been inherited by him. This senior line of the Gangas had entered into matrimonial alliance with the Bāṇas of whom Baṇavidyādhara had married Kundavve, daughter of Pṛithvīpati I Nanniya Ganga now sought the assistance of the Vaidumbas. Together they proceeded against Rachamalla II when the Bāṇas succeeded in seizing Pulināḍu from the Nolambas and even occupied Talakāḍu after conquering Manne-200 and Ganga 6000 territories. But this was a short-lived victory for the confederates, for the Nolamba chief Mahēndra, ultimately succeeded in crushing the Bāṇas in the battle of Sōremaḍi fought sometime in or before 892 A. D. We do not know what happened to Nanniya Ganga.

But we find his son Prithvīpati II receiving the title *Sembiya-Mahābali Bāṇarasa*, along with the Bāṇa country from the Chōḷa king Parāntaka. This was the last prince and with him the senior line of the Gangas came to a close.

The Nolamba chief Mahēndra who stood as an able ally of the Gangas in these battles himself slowly thought of independence. But he had underestimated the Ganga power. To bring the Nolamba under control Butuga, brother of Rāchamalla II, led a huge army against Mahēndra whom he defeated in a series of battles fought at Hirisur, Sulur and Śāmiyur. But Mahēndra seems to have held his own for some time as there are records referring to him as ruling over Gangamaṇḍala–96000. Sometime before 891 A. D, he defeated and killed in battle, a chief called Rācheya Ganga who fought on behalf of the Gangas. This shows that the Nolamba chief was still powerful. However after Butuga's death, his son Ereganga, also called Ereyappa continued the warfare and finally killed Mahēndra about 895 A. D. and seized several forts like Sulur, Naduganị, Tippēru, Henjēru, Midige and Suliśailēndra. This entitled Ereyappa to assume the title *Mahēndrāntika*. The Nolambas thereafter had to rest contented with their subordinate position under the Gangas.

Ereyappa, Narasimha and Rāchamalla III

Rāchamalla II had no issues and so even during his life time he anointed Ereyappa on the throne to succeed him. Together they were ruling the kingdom for nearly thirty years from c. 886 to 919 A. D. During their joint rule the Eastern Chalukya king Ammarāja I marched against the Nolamba country. Nolamba Ayyapa opposed Ammarāja with the help of an army sent by Ereyappa to assist him. Ayyapa lost his life in the battle, but the Eastern Chālukya king was driven away. Narasimha succeeded his father Ereyappa in 920 A. D. Not much is known about his reign which appears to have terminated sometime before 933 A. D. His successor was his brother Rāchamalla III who had to wage battles with the Nolambas on the one side and the

Rāshṭrakūṭas on the other. The Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha Baddega had given his daughter Rēvakanimmaḍi in marriage to Rāchamalla III's brother Būtuga II. Amōgha's son Kṛishṇa III assisted his brother-in-law, Butuga II who had espoused his cause in securing the Rāshṭrakuta throne and Būtuga in turn desired that he should be helped by the former to occupy the Ganga throne. Kṛishna III also knew that by doing so he would be winning over a powerful ally who would be of great help in his military campaigns Naturally in the feuds that ensued between Rāchamalla III and Būtuga II, Kṛishṇa III sided the latter.

Availing of this opportunity, Nolamba Anniga attacked Rāchamalla III in the third year of the latter's rule. In the battle at Kottamangala, Rāchamalla defeated Aṇṇiga but he spared him as he needed his help, himself being in danger when his brother rose in revolt Finally, however, Rāchamalla was killed and Butuga II became the king of the Ganga country in 936 A D But, Butuga's position, and therefore of the Gangas also, radically changed and they now became the feudatory chiefs, serving faithfully their masters, the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

Būtuga II and Maruḷa

Būtuga justified the confidence Kṛishna III reposed in him by ably assisting the latter in his southern and northern campaigns He had already received the chieftaincy of Belvola–300, Purigere–300, Bagenādu–70 and Kisukādu–70 territories as dowry from his father-in-law and to these Banavāsi–12000 was added by Kṛishṇa III as a reward for the valuable service rendered by him in the battle of Takkōlam (947–48 A. D.) when Chōla Rājāditya was killed.

Būtuga was succeeded by his elder son Maruḷa in 961 A. D. But this prince ruled for a short period of only two years, for in 963 A. D we find his brother Marasimha II ruling the Ganga country. Maru'a had married a daughter of Kṛishṇa III. The history of the Gangas in these years is nothing but history of the Rāshṭrakuṭas.

Mārasimha II

In 973 A. D. the Rāshṭrakuṭas were overthrown by Chālukya Taila II. But Mārasimha refused to accept the suzerainty of Taila. In an effort to bring back his erstwhile masters to power he crowned Indrarāja IV, a grandson of Krishna III and his own sister's son, as king at Bankāpur. He defeated the Nolambas at Gōṇur and crushed their power. On account of this achievement he earned the title *Noḷambāntaka*. He killed in battle a certain Rājāditya who was possibly a supporter of Taila, but still failed to achieve his objective. He spent his last days at Śravaṇabeḷgola where he died by the vow of *Sallēkhana*

Indra IV lost his supporter, and among the Gangas themselves there was struggle for succession. Chāmuṇḍarāya, the minister of Mārasimha took up the cause of Rāchamalla IV, a son of Mārasimha against Nītimārga Gōvindarasa who was a younger brother of Mārasimha. Taila II, however, subdued both of them and the northern portions of Gangavāḍi were annexed to the Chāḷukya empire. In the reduced southern territories Rāchamalla IV appears to have ruled till 999 A. D. But by then the Chōlas in the south had become very powerful and what little of the Ganga territory had remained was conquered and merged into the Chōla kingdom.

We hear of some members of the Ganga family like Kancharasa and Udayāditya who were subordinates of the Chālukya kings, Jayasimha II and Sōmēśvara II respectively. But we do not know if they were mutually related nor whether they were in any way connected with the Gangas of Talakāḍ.

Extent of the kingdom

Gangavāḍi is the name given to the area that was for a long time associated with the rule of the Gangas. It lay in between the territory of the Kadambas in the west and the Pallavas to the east. In the early period, the Gangas ruled over a small area, the Gangarusāsira (Ganga-6000) country, spread over the Anantapur and Cuddapah districts of Andhra Pradesh, with Kolar as its capital. Later on, their territory expanded and at its

zenith of power, this area was designated as Gangavādi 96000 which embraced, besides the above, also the districts of southern Mysore, viz. Tumkur, Bangalore, Coorg, Mandya and Mysore and parts of Salem and Coimbatore destricts of Tamil Nadu. Talakāḍ became its capital then, probably because from here, there was easy access to the dominions of the Kadambas on the one hand and of the southern powers like the Pallavas and the Chōḷas on the other.

APPENDIX I

Chronology of the Kadambas and the Gangas

The Kadambas

Due to the peculiar method of dating their inscriptions in the regnal years of the kings, seasons, *paksha* and the days, which are inadequate to find out the English equivalents, it is indeed difficult to fix the chronology of the Kadamba kings with precision. Nevertheless, with the help of the Badāmi cliff inscription of Pulakēśi I, which is the first inscription to be dated in the Śaka year, and at least one of the Kadamba records, it would be possible to fix the approximate periods of rule of these Kadambas.

The Bādāmi inscription is dated in Śaka 465 i. e. 543 A. D. It tells us that by this date, Pulakēśi I had performed the *aśvamēdha* and other sacrifices and had also built a fort at Bādāmi. As the Kadambas were the most powerful rulers of the period and as the Chālukyas were probably subordinates to them, Pulakēśi I could assert himself only after conquering the Kadambas. Allowing some time to settle himself and build the fort, it would be reasonable to place his conquest in 540 A. D.

Now the Sangolli copper plate grant of Kadamba Harivarma is dated in his 8th regnal year, Aśvayuja, Amāvāsyā, which could be equated with 507 A. D., 526 A. D. or 545 A. D. Of these, 507 A. D. would be apparently too early for his period.

It had been earlier surmised that of these three years, 545 A. D. could be the 8th regnal year of Harivarma But the Bādāmi cliff inscription indicates that Kṛishṇavarma II had been ousted by Pulakēśi I before that date. As we know that the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarma II brought together the two branches of the family after defeating Harivarma, the eighth year of rule of the latter will have to be equated with 526 A. D. in which case his first year of rule would be 519 A. D. This is thus a sure step in fixing the chronology of the Kadambas. From here we have to move upwards and ascribe 25 years of rule to each of Harivarma's predecessors according to the accepted standard of dating based on generations.

Harivarma's father was Ravivarma. Since a record of the latter is dated in his 35th regnal year, it becomes certain that he ruled at least for 35 years If this is accepted to be his last year, his reign-period would be between 485 and 519 A. D. His uncle Śivamāndhāta's rule was a short one between c. 480 and 485 A.D. We do not know how long Mṛigēśavarma ruled So, if the standard period of 25 years is ascribed to him, his rule would be from 455 A. D. to 480 A. D. According to the same standard, the periods of the rule of Śāntivarma and his father Kākusthavarma would be between 430 A D. to 455 A. D to 405 A D. to 430 A D., respectively A record of *yuvarāja* Kākusthavarma is dated in the 80th year, which is presumed to have been reckoned from the first year of Mayuraśarma, the first member of the family Therefore, further presuming that the record belonged to the first year of rule of Kakusthavarma it follows that a period of 80 years i e. from 405 A. D. to 325 A. D., has to be distributed among the four predecessors of Kākusthavarma.

According to this calculation, the last date of Kakusthavarma would be 430 A. D. Of his successors in the Triparvata line, Kṛishṇavarma II was the last ruler and as shown above, his last date is presumed to be 540 A. D. Now, since the Sangolli inscription of Harivarma, presumed to be dated in 526 A. D. states that he was then in Vaijayantī i. e. Banavāsi, Kṛishṇavarma

II's conquest of Harivarma's territory must have taken place only after 526 A. D. One of Kṛishṇavarma's inscriptions, dated in his 7th regnal year does not mention Vaijayantī, while another, mentioning this place is dated in his 15th regnal year So his conquest of Banavāsi is to be placed between his 7th and 15th regnal years Allowing some years for the reign of Harivarma, after 526 A. D. which is his latest known date, it can be presumed that he ruled upto about 530 A D, when he might have been defeated by Kṛishṇavarma. If we presume that his Kiṛukupputur grant was issued soon after his conquest of Vaijayantī, the 15th regnal year mentioned in this grant will coincide with 530 A D. thus indicating that he commenced his rule in about 516 A D. Therefore, his three predecessors are to be placed between 430 and 516 A. D. Then the following tentative dates may be assigned to each: Kṛishṇavarma I, c. 430–460 A. D, Vishṇuvarma, c. 460–490 A. D., Simhavarma, c. 490–516 A. D.

(The genealogy of the family is given below.)

The Kadamba Genealogy
(Mayūraśarma) (325-345 A. D.)
(Kangavarma) (345-365 A. D)
(Bhagiratha) (365-385 A. D.)
Raghu (385-405 A D.)
Kākusthavarma (405-430 A. D.)
Śāntivarma (430-455 A. D.)
Krishnavarma I (430-460 A. D.)
Mrigēśavarma (455-480 A. D)
Sivamāndhātrivarma (480-485 A. D.)
Vishnuvarma (460-490 A. D.)
Dēvavarma
Bhānuvarma
Śivaratha
Simhavarma (490-516 A. D.)
Ravivarma (485-519 A. D.)
Harivarma (519-530 A. D.)
Krishnavarma II (516-540 A. D.)
Ajavarma
Bhōgivarma
Ravivarma

The Gangas

The chronology of the Gangas is much more confusing. The earlier writers had reconstructed it on the following lines. It is known that the Pallava king Simhavarma brought Harivarma to the Ganga throne and Mādhava II was anointed by Pallava Skandavarma. *Lōkavibhāga*, a Jaina work, refers to the 22nd year of Pallava Simhavarma as corresponding to Śaka 380 i. e. 458 A D. This means that 436 A D was the initial year of the Pallava king who helped Ganga Harivarma to ascend the throne. This was about 440 A D. It was therefore considered an important step in fixing the chronology not only of the Gangas but also of the Kadambas whose king Kākusthavarma gave his daughter in marriage to Ganga Mādhava III. This was the position when the Bādāmi cliff inscription of Pulakēśi I was unknown and the date of the Sangolli plates of Kadamba Harivarma was taken to be 545 A D. Some scholars, however, doubted the genuineness of the statement made in *Lōkavibhaga*.

But, as shown above, according to our calculations, 540 A. D. would be the latest limit for the rule of Kadamba Krishṇavarma II and the reign period of Krishṇavarma I would be c. 430-60 A D during which period his sister was the queen of Ganga Mādhava III The Hallīgēri grant of Śivamāra I is dated Śaka 636 i e, 713 A D which was his 34th regnal year. Hence he must have ascended the Ganga throne in 679 A D. Assigning a rule of 25 years to each of the four predecessors of Śivamāra I, upto Durvinīta, we find that Durvin ta's rule came to a close about 579 A. D As he ruled for 50 years and his father Avinīta for 60 years we assign their rules respectively between 529-579 A D. and 469-529 A D Thus 469 A D would be the last date of the rule of Mādhava III who married the daughter of Kakusthavarma It is likely that the marriage took place within the last few years of the rule of Kākusthavarma, about 425 A. D, when probably Mādhava was yet a prince. If we assign a rule of 30 years to Mādhava (c. 440-69 A D) his father Vishṇugōpa might have ruled between 420-440 A D and the

senior uncle Mādhava II between 400-420 A. D. Therefore, Konguṇi, Madhava I and Kṛishṇavarma, the great-grandfather, grandfather and father respectively of Mādhava II might have ruled between 325-350 A. D., 350-375 A. D. and 375-400 A. D.

It is thus probable that the two dynasties of the Kadambas and the Gangas were founded almost simultaneously about 325 A.D. It may, however, be conceded that in view of a large number of Ganga records being considered spurious and in view of the fact that the chronology of the other two contemporary dynasties of the Pallavas and the Kadambas has not yet been fixed with precision, the problem of Ganga chronology is still an open question. The genealogy of the family is given below.

The Ganga Genealogy
Kongunivarma (325-350 A. D.)
Mādhava I (350-375 A. D.)
Āryavarma or Harivarma or Krishṇavarma I (375-400 A. D.)
Mādhava II (Simhavarma) (400-420 A. D.)
Vishṇugōpa (420-440 A. D.)
Vīravarma
Mādhava III (440-469 A. D.)
Avinīta (469-529 A. D.)
Durvinīta (529-579 A. D.)
Son (name not known)
Mushkara (579-604 A. D.)
Polavīra (604-629 A. D.)
Śrīvikrama (629-654 A. D.)
Bhūvikrama (654-679 A. D.)
Śivamāra I (679-725 A. D.)

(continued)

Śivamāra I
(679-725 A. D)
Son (name not known)
Śrīpurusha
(725-788 A. D.)
Duggamāra
Śivamāra II
Vijayāditya
Mārasimha I
(796 A. D.)
Prithvīpati I
Nanniya Ganga
Prithvīpati II
Rāchamalla I
(816-843 A. D.)
Nītimārga Ereganga
(843-870 A. D.)
Rāchamalla II
(870-919 A. D.)
Būtuga I
Ereganga
(883-920 A. D.)
Narasimha
(920-933 A. D)
Rāchamalla III
(933-936 A. D.)
Būtuga II
936-961 A.D.
Marula
(961-963 A. D.)
Mārasimha II
(963-974 A. D)
Rāchamalla IV
(974-999 A. D.)
Nītimārga Gōvindarasa

APPENDIX II

Śālivāhana Śaka

Śālivāhana Śaka was the popular reckoning of time prevailing in peninsular India, more so in the areas of Karnataka, Andhra and Maharashtra, until the adoption of the Christian era in the modern period. Its history goes back to ancient times and it would be interesting to trace its chequered career

The expression Śālivāhana Śaka is a misnomer and anomaly. Śālivāhana is the name of a ruling family, being a later modification of the term Śātavāhana. Śaka is the name of a foreign tribe, also known as Scythian, who had settled in India and held sway as rulers over some of her tracts. But this original connotation of the proper noun Śaka was ignored in course of time and it came to be used in the sense of an era or reckoning in general; for instance, Vikrama Śaka, i e. Vikrama era, Krista Śaka, i. e. Christian era etc Even in independent India we are using the expression Śaka in our national reckoning of time. However, this anomaly can be explained. Currency was given to a reckoning of time in the western part of India in the first century and its starting point was 78 A. D. The full name of the reckoning was Śaka Samvatsara meaning Śaka year and this was shortened as Śaka Samvat or Śaka Saṁ.

The source of this reckoning is dim and disputed. Some scholars associate it with the first regnal year of the Kushāṇa emperor Kanishka I who ruled over a big empire. This counting of years was continued by his successors and subsequently by his provincial governors of western India, called Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa, who belonged to the Śaka or Scythian race This reckoning was being used by the Śaka chiefs continuously for four centuries from the year 41 to 310 as attested by epigraphical and numismatic evidence. In the meanwhile this counting gained ground beyond its official environment and became prevalent as a standard reckoning, acknowledged by men of learning and recognized by astronomers. Two factors contributed to the establishment of this reckoning and

its adoption almost universally in the regions of south India during the subsequent centuries.

Firstly, the Gujarat–Kathiawar region which was included in the dominions of the Śaka rulers, was a stronghold of Jainism and these potentates came forth as the champions of this faith. The Jaina teachers and scholars who had therefore developed an attachment for this reckoning, actively engaged themselves in the propagation of their doctrine in the south. Consequently, while spreading their faith, they created a favourable atmosphere for the extension of this reckoning also. It is noteworthy in this context that the Jaina teacher Siṁhasuri who completed his work *Lōkavibhāga* in deep south at Kānchī, mentions the Śaka year 380 (i. e. 458 A. D)

Secondly, Ujjayini in west Malwa, included in the dominion of the Śaka kings, was a great centre of astronomical studies. As the Śaka reckoning had stood the test of time for centuries, it was stable and therefore found suitable for astronomical calculations by the Pandits of Ujjayini. The choice of this reckoning as an era for astronomical purpose, was further strengthened by the fact that some of the eminent astronomers of this city like Varāhamihira, known as Maga–Brāhmaṇas, were originally immigrant Magi priests hailing from Śaka-dvīpa or Seistan, the land of the Śakas in Persia.

The Chālukya emperors of Bādāmi were mainly instrumental for the propagation of the Śaka era in many parts of south India, as they had built up a large empire. Jainism had by this time established close contacts with Karnataka and this faith and its teachers, along with other religious faiths, also received patronage from the Chālukya kings. Two outstanding instances illustrating this point are the Jaina caves at Bādāmi and the renowned Jaina scholar and poet Ravikīrti who was a protege of Pulakēśi II and composed his *praśasti*. The Chālukyas made use of the Śaka era in their records from the early days of their rule and the instances of such a usage are good many. Two wellknown instances are

worthy of mention. One is the inscription on a cliff at Bādāmi dated Śaka 465, describing construction of the fort by Pulakēśi I. The second is the *praśasti* of Pulakēśi II at Aihoḷe, dated in two eras, Kali 3735 and Śaka 556.

In the inscriptions of the Kannada country ranging from the sixth to the thirteenth century the expressions frequently used while mentioning the dates are Śaka-varsha, Śaka-kāla, Śaka-nṛipa-kāla, Śaka-nṛipa-rājyābhishēka-saṁvatsara, etc. The learned poet Ravikīrti refers to the date as 'the years of Śaka kings that have gone by'. From the above review it becomes abundantly clear that there existed an awareness of the Śaka era being a reckoning of Śaka kings among official circles and learned men of the times.

In the thirteenth and the following century, the violent invasions and occupation of north India by the Muslim foreigners, appear to have caused an adverse reaction among the learned men about the use of the Śaka reckoning which was of foreign origin. This might have revived the old memories of the Śātavāhana rule at Pratishṭhāna and the victories of Śātavāhana kings over the Śaka and other alien chiefs. As they could not eradicate the use of the Śaka reckoning which was firmly rooted, they invented the devise of qualifying the reckoning by adding the name Śālivāhana to it. Thus came into vogue thereafter the modified name of the reckoning as Śālivāhana Śaka.

The change seems to have been brought about mainly by the Jaina learned men and astronomers of the city of Pratishṭhāna. The change of name necessitated its justification and plausible explanation. This was furnished by the assumption of its origin and foundation by a Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana king. At the same time circulation was given to the story of the legendary king named Śālivāhana with miraculous powers, ruling at Pratishṭhāna.

Many Jaina traditions and legends were woven around the city of Pratishṭhāna which appears to have been a stronghold of

Jainism and Jaina teachers for centuries. According to one tradition, Hāla, an eminent king of the Śātavāhana dynasty, courted the doctrine of the Jina and built many Jaina temples at Pratishṭhāna. Traditions accepted this Hāla as the founder of the Śālivāhana reckoning.

The modification of the name as Śālivāhana Śaka was both unhistorical and historical. It was unhistorical on account of the assumption that the reckoning was inaugurated by the Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana king. It was historical in the sense that it rightly indicated the source, a historical event, that formed the basis for this modification.

The event must be the victory of a Śātavāhana king against the Śaka foreigners. This could not be attributed to Hāla who, according to our reconstruction of Śātavāhana history, possibly did not belong to the main ruling family and was more distinguished as a scholar and author than as an adventurous warrior and military leader. Thus it would be historically correct to assume Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and not the traditional Hāla as the fitting historical personage for the association of the newly modified Śālivāhana saṁvatsara or reckoning. It was Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi who won resounding victories over the Śakas and other foreigners. The main point should, however, be clearly borne in mind that the reckoning primarily originated with the Śaka rule and that neither Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi nor any other king of the Śātavāhana dynasty did really establish a reckoning to mark a historical event.

According to the prevalent tradition and custom the new year of the Śālivāhana reckoning begins from the first day of the luni-solar month of Chaitra. This is called Yugādi which connotes the commencement of an era or epoch. This day is observed as a great festival with spectacular celebrations in many parts of the present Maharashtra, Andhra and Karnataka, which, as history reveals, had come under the influence of the

Sātavāhanas. In Maharashtra this new year day is called *Guḍī pāḍavā*, which indicates a special feature of its observance. It consists of the hoisting of an ornamental flag on the residential houses. This evidently is a symbol of victory. The expression *Guḍī-pāḍavā* is originally Kannada, *guḍi* meaning a banner or flag; and *pāḍava* or *pāḍivā*, derived from the Sanskrit *Pratipadā* (first day), is found to have been used in the early Kannada inscriptions of about the tenth century. Thus it appears that this name of the festival along with its special feature of setting up flags was adopted from Karnataka.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI
[C. 500–757 A. D.]

Before continuing our narration we pause for a moment to make a few observations regarding the significance of the new period of our history that now opens out before us.

The collapse of the Kadamba rule and rise of the Chālukya house to power inaugurates a new epoch in the political and cultural history of Karnataka. This new epoch which is characterised by the establishment and growth of a series of strong and well-knit empires for about a thousand years, draws a curtain on the earlier age of smaller kingdoms and petty principalities which were semi-independent and isolated. The Chalukya dynasty, whose story is unfolded in the sequel, united this land and its people as one nation giving it a place of pride and high political status, worthy of being reckoned in the galaxy of the eminent imperial dynasties of ancient India from the Mauryan times.

We have stated above that Pulakēśi I of the Chālukya dynasty defeated Kadamba Krishṇavarma II and founded his own kingdom. It is most likely that, before their rise, the members of the Chālukya family were serving as subordinates under the Kadambas. Finding an opportune moment, Pulakēśi overpowered the Kadambas and established himself as an independent ruler. As most of the territories formerly under the Kadambas were included in the new kingdom, it becomes evident that the Chālukyas were the direct political successors of the Kadambas.

After their rise to power, they became one of the most mighty rulers for over two centuries. Their political influence spread in the north as far as the Narmadā and in the south upto the Kāvērī. The whole of the Deccan came under their sway and the members of this dynasty succeeded in establishing

indepedent kingdoms, one in Andhra and another in Gujarat. Splendid cities came to be built in their regime, foremost among them being Bādāmi, Aihole and Paṭṭadakal. These, with their excavated and structural temples which inaugurated a new style of architecture associated with their name, proclaim even today the glory of their civilization.

Origin

The origin of the Chālukyas is shrouded in mystery and there is no dearth of legends surrounding this name. The name occurs in different forms in inscriptions, like Chalki, Chuluki, Chalikya, Chalukya, Chālukya etc. The exact connotation of this term is not known. It appears to have been the proper name of a person or a Dravidian tribal name In an early inscription of the third century A. D at Nāgārjunakoṇda occurs the name Khanda Chaliki Remmaṇaka. Though it is not possible to connect this person with the Chālukyas of the 6th century, it is suggestive of its antiquity and regional association.

Later records which try to explain this name, not knowing the real significance, weave many legends around it. Out of imagination based on verbal resemblance, they usually connect the name Chālukya with the Sanskrit expression *chuluka* meaning cavity formed by joining the palms of hands Bilhaṇa, the famous Kashmiri poet (11th century) in the court of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, narrates a fanciful story According to him, Indra once requested Brahmā to create a hero who would put an end to godlessness in the world and punish the wicked. Agreeing to the request Brahmā looked into his *chuluka* while performing the *sandhyā* (twilight prayer) and from there sprang a warrior whose family thus came to be known as Chālukya. Another legend relates that the Chālukyas hailed from Ayōdhya where fiftynine members of this family ruled and afterwards sixteen more ruled over Dakshiṇāpatha to which region they had migrated. Then followed a period of darkness Later, Jayasimha, a prince of this line, uprooted Rāshṭrakuṭa Indra and established the supremacy of the Chālukyas.

But no truth can be extracted from such legends which gained currency in later days, long after the Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi ceased to exist The obvious intention of such legends was to attribute a hoary antiquity and epic grandeur to the dynasty by connecting it with god Brahmā and the city of Ayōdhyā. All such accounts have therefore to be brushed aside as unhistorical and fanciful

That the Chālukyas were not immigrants from other regions but were indigenous to Karnataka is proved by ample evidence. They continued the political traditions of their predecessors, the Kadambas The names and titles of the members of the family like Pulikēśi and Bittarasa are Kannada The members of the families of the Chālukyas who ruled in the Andhra area and around Vemulavāda, as also those of the Gujarat branch retained the Kannada name-ending *arasa* in their records. They also bore distinctly Kannada titles like *nōḍutta gelvōm* and *paṇyaga ḷḷam*. They encouraged Kannada language and literature. Their inscriptions are in Kannada besides being in Sanskrit. Kannada influence is noted even in their Sanskrit charters. In the records of the Rāshtrakuṭas, their successors, the military might of the Chalukyas is conspicuously described as *Karnāṭaka-bala*. Karnataka's literature, art and culture were fostered under their patronage In short, they were one with Karnataka and largely contributed to its progress

The Kadambas and the Chālukyas followed the same family traditions Both belonged to the *gōtra* which was *mānavya* and they described themselves as sons of Hāriti (*Hāritīputra*). They were devotees of god Mahāsena i e Kārttikēya and worshipped the *Saptamātṛkās* (the Seven Mothers). The Chālukyas were staunch devotees of Vishṇu and chose Varāha as their insignia. The choice of this is significant. It indicates that like Lord Vishṇu in his Varāha incarnation they took upon them selves the task of uplifting the world and saving it from political chaos

Jayasimha and Raṇarāga (c. 500–540 A. D.)

According to the historical traditions of the family recorded in the inscriptions and literature, the earliest known member of the family was Jayasimha. Records of the 11th–12th centuries of the later Chālukya dynasty state that Jayasimha defeated Rāshṭrakuṭa Indra, son of Kṛishṇa, and established the Chālukya sovereignty. But, as no Rāshṭrakuṭa kings of the above names are known to have held power at this early period in Karnataka, this account cannot be accepted as a historical fact. Evidently it reflects the later event of restoration of the Chālukya dynasty by Taila II who overthrew the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Had Jayasimha achieved this victory, it would have found a place in the early records of the family.

It is likely that Jayasimha was a petty chief under the Kadambas, whose traditions his descendants followed. Some writers have sought to identify this Jayasimha with his namesake who figures as a subordinate of Abhimanyu, a ruler of the Rāshṭrakuṭa family of Mānapura But no grounds exist for such an identification.

Jayasimha's son was Raṇarāga, for whom also no historical details are available Raṇarāga's son was Pulakēśi I. Since we have assigned c. 540 A D for the commencement of Pulakēśi's reign we may fix the period of Jayasimha and Raṇarāga approximately between 500–520 A D. and 520–540 A. D. respectively.

Pulakēśi I (c. 540–566 A D.)

Pulakēśi I, was the real founder of the Chālukya dynasty He overthrew the Kadambas and established an independent kingdom of his own He chose Bādāmi as his capital and built a strong fort on the hill near the town He performed the *aśvamēdha* and other sacrifices to commemorate his victories. His inscription on the cliff of a hill near Bādāmi, dated Śaka 465 corresponding to 543 A. D, extols him as the performer of these sacrifices and refers to his construction of the invincible fort of Bādāmi for

the well-being of the world He assumed the paramount title, *Vallabha* or *Vallabhēśvara*, meaning the supreme lord. This is an abbreviation of the title *Śrī-Pṛthv -vallabha* i. e. lord of the goddess of fortune and the earth, occurring in other records. The title *Vallabha* was imparted such a dignity by the Chālukyas by their constant association with it that the Rāshṭrakūṭas who succeeded them readily adopted it as their characteristic epithet. It was subsequently passed on to the later Chālukyas also.

We may place this achievement of Pulakēśi in c. 540 A. D. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that this Bādāmi cliff inscription is the earliest important record dated in the Śaka era so far discovered. Pulakēśi ruled approximately from 540 to 566 A. D. Pulakēśi's wife was Durlabhadēvī of the Bappūra family.

Pulakēśi was succeeded by Kīrtivarma I. According to a recent discovery, he had another son named Pugavarma who was the eldest. But, as he did not succeed his father to the throne and his name does not occur in the genealogical accounts of the family, he seems to have predeceased his father at a young age.

Kīrtivarma I (566–596 A. D)

Kīrtivarma's reign commenced in 566 A. D. To him goes the credit of consolidating and expanding the newly founded kingdom. Though the Kadambas were defeated earlier, they were not completely subjugated. There were some chiefs of this family who still held their own and were unwilling to accept the suzerainty of the Chālukyas. Kīrtivarma therefore had to wage decisive wars against them He also subdued the chiefs of the Maurya lineage who were ruling in Konkaṇ. After its conquest, the western coastal region was placed in charge of Dhruvarāja Indravarma who belonged to the Bappūra family. He appears to have been related to Kīrtivarma from his mother's side. The other rulers who were vanquished by Kīrtivarma were the Ālupas of South Kanara, the Nalas of Nalavāḍi in the Bellary-Kurnool area and the Gangas of Talakāḍ. In the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription

of his brother Mangalēśa, Kīrtivarma is credited with the conquest of Magadha, Vanga, Kalinga and other northern kingdoms. This description, however, has to be treated as conventional having no relation to facts.

The Sēndrakas, who were formerly the feudatories of the Kadambas, transferred their allegiance to the Chalukyas. Kīrtivarma married a princess from this family viz. a sister of Sēnānanda. He had four sons, viz. Pulakēśi II, Vishnuvardhana, Dharāśraya Jayasimha and Buddhavarasa All these sons played prominent roles in the political sphere and enhanced the prestige and power of the Chālukya house.

Mangalēśa (596–610 A D)

As Pulakēśi II was too young to shoulder the responsibilities of the kingdom at the time of his father's death, Mangalēśa, the younger brother of Kīrtivarma, succeeded to the Chālukya throne. He commenced his rule in 596 A. D.

Mangalēśa was valiant and ambitious An outstanding event in the early part of his rule was his war with the Katachchuris The rulers of this dynasty who had risen to power in central India about the middle of the sixth century A. D. had built a big empire extending over the territories of Malwa, Gujarat, and Maharashtra including Vidarbha. Mangalēśa encountered Katachchuri Buddharāja in a decisive battle and vanquished him in c 601 A D. This was a crushing blow to the Katachchuri empire which soon disintegrated clearing the way for the expansion of the Chālukya power in the north.

In the Mahākuta inscription set up by Mangalēśa it is stated that he contemplated to carry out a victorious expedition in the north and plant a pillar of victory on the bank of the Gangā. But this plan was not put into effect as he had to concentrate his attention on the internal security of the kingdom. Svāmirāja, a subordinate chief of the Chālukya family, who was governing the island of Rēvatī, turned hostile. Mangalēśa subdued him and placed his territory under the charge of Dhruvarāja Indravarma

who was governing the Konkaṇ region. The island of Rēvatī is identified with Rēḍi to the south of Vengurla in the Ratnagiri district. The pillar of victory originally contemplated to be erected on the bank of the Gangā, was erected by Mangalēśa at Mahākūṭa, a famous religious centre of the period, about 12 miles from Bādāmi. This inscribed pillar is now in the Archaeological Museum at Bijapur.

Mangalēśa bore the title *Ururaṇaparākrama* (valiant fighter on the battle-field) and is described as *Paramabhāgavata* (a great devotee of Vishṇu) The famous Vaishṇava cave temple at Bādāmi, which he excavated, is a living example testifying to this description. The intention of Mangalēśa in the creation of this temple, as stated in the inscription engraved therein, was that merit may accrue to Kīrtivarma.

Not being the rightful ruler, the role of Mangalēśa was that of a regent during the minority of his nephew Pulakēśi II. When this prince came of age it was expected that Mangalēśa would willingly hand over the kingdom to him. But Mangalēśa continued to rule brushing aside the claim of Pulakēśi. Not only this, he even thought of passing on the kingdom after him to his own son to the exclusion of Pulakēśi. But Pulakēśi asserted his right and this resulted in a conflict. Pulakēśi left the kingdom and organising an army, gave a fight to Mangalēśa. In a decisive battle that followed, Mangalēśa was defeated and he lost his life. This event may be placed in c. 610 A. D.

Pulakēśi II (c. 610–642 A. D.)

Pulakēśi ascended the throne in c. 610 A. D. Though young, he was endowed with extraordinary ability and outstanding qualities like ambition, valour, diplomacy and foresight that go to make a successful political genius, an empire-builder. Immediately after his accession, he set himself to the task of establishing peace and security in the kingdom which were endangered by the unhappy incidents in the royal household. Taking advantage of the disturbed political condition, two

chiefs named Appāyika and Gōvinda raised the standard of revolt against the new ruler. Pulakēśi confronted their army on the banks of the river Bhīmā and defeated them One of them ran away from the battle-field while the other surrendered

Realising the need of a powerful army for the survival and prosperity of the Chālukya kingdom, Pulakēśi organised and enlarged his fighting forces. Then he launched upon an all out conquering expedition subjugating the enemies and expanding his dominions.

He marched against Banavāsi where some of the Kadambas still held their ground Defeating them he occupied the region. The Gangas of Talakād and the Alupas of South Kanara accepted his overlordship.

Some scholars identify the Ganga ruler defeated by Pulakēśi with Durvinīta who, according to them, offered his daughter in marriage to the Chālukya king. It may be noted in this connection that Dr Venkataramanayya was the first to surmise that this Durvinīta later on defeated the Pallava king and installed Vikramāditya I on the Chālukya throne This view is based on a much later record dated 1077 A D, from Humcha, wherein it is stated that Durvinīta defeated Kaduvetti, who was cruel like Rāvaṇa and installed on the hereditary throne of Jayasimhavallabha, his daughter's son The learned scholar identifies Kāḍuvetti with the Pallava ruler Narasimhavarma and Durvinīta's daughters son with Vikramāditya I, son of Pulakēśi II. But, the statement made in the record is very vague and does not mention the names Secondly, as seen above, Durvinīta ruled between 529-579 A.D and at the time of his death Pulakēśi II was not born at all. The Ganga chronology based on the *Lōkavibhāga* is not reliable and acceptable. Hence the theory of Durvinīta's installing Vikramāditya I on the throne has to be discredited.

The chiefs of the Maurya family of Konkaṇ were also overcome and the port of Purī (modern Elephanta island) was

captured after a marine fight. Pulakēśi then proceeded northwards, overpowering the Lāṭas, Gurjaras and the Mālavas. Gujarat became a part of his kingdom and it was placed in charge of his general of a Chalukya family. In 643 A. D. we find Vijayarāja of this family governing the area.

Pulakēśi then pushed forth upto the Narmadā and came face to face with Harshavardhana of Kanauj, the great ruler of the whole of north India *(sakal-ōttarāpath-ādhiśvara)* Pulakēśi proved himself to be too formidable an enemy for him. In a decisive battle fought on the banks of this river, Harsha lost a major part of his elephant force and had to retreat. The Chinese traveller, Hieuntsang, who visited the kingdom of Harsha and Pulakēśi about this time, describes this event thus :

> "Sīlādityarāja (i. e Harsha), filled with confidence, himself marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince (i. e. Pulakēśi); but he was unable to prevail upon or subjugate him".

Later Chālukya records claim that Pulakēśi assumed the title *Paramēśvara* (paramount overlord) after his defeating Harsha, but this is not historically accurate since the title is applied to him in an early inscription of 613 A. D. After this, Pulakēśi became the undisputed monarch of the three Mahārāshṭrakas i. e. the three big territorial divisions comprising 99000 villages.

The three Mahārāshṭrakas mentioned in this connection appear to be the regions of present Maharashtra, Karnataka and the western coastal tract of Konkaṇ. Thus his empire included the major portion of the western peninsular India extending from Gujarat to southern Mysore.

Next, Pulakēśi turned towards the east and south. He overran the countries of Kōsala and Kalinga, i. e. Central India and Orissa, ruled over by the Pāṇḍuvamśis and the Eastern Gangas respectively, and captured the fort of Pishṭapura (i. e. Piṭhāpuram in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh). His next objective

was the subjugation of the Kunāla area (Kollēru near Ellore) which formed the Vengi region Proceeding further south, he attacked the Pallava king Mahēndravarma I. Pulakēśi reached very near Kānchi, the Pallava capital, and in the battle that ensued at Pullalūr, the Pallava king suffered defeat and shut himself up in the capital Before this, as a shrewd diplomatic move, he befriended the Chōlas and the Pāṇḍyas and also the ruler of the Kērala country as these were inimical to the Pallavas

The above account of Pulakēśi's campaigns is narrated in the order as described in the Aihole inscription composed by his court poet Ravikīrti However, it is not clear whether Pulakēśi conquered all these kingdoms in one expedition at a stretch or in several expeditions undertaken at different periods. There is also a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the date of his victory over Harshavardhana. As this victory is not mentioned in the Lōhner plates of Pulakēśi dated 630 A. D, some scholars are inclined to place it some time after this date. Some others have assigned 620 A D for the battle It is, however, certain that it had taken place before 634-35 A. D which is the date of the Aihole inscription

After his victorious campaigns, he returned to his capital, Bādāmi and made arrangements for the governance of his newly conquered territories He placed one of his brothers Dharāśraya Jayasimha in charge of the Nasik area, while another brother Kubja Vishṇuvardhana was appointed governor of the Vengi region. The latter was the originator of an independent ruling family which is known as the Eastern Chālukyas or the Chālukyas of Vengi.

Besides bringing under his sway extensive areas in all directions, Pulakēśi set up an orderly government and good administration in his dominions. Under his efficient rule the Chālukya kingdom attained the zenith of power and glory. His supremacy was accepted in the vast area between the Narmadā and the Kāvērī and his influence spread even beyond

India. He sent envoys to the court of the Persian king Khusrau II who, in return, sent an embassy to the Chālukya court, as is recorded by the Persian chronicler Ṭabari. A pictorial representation of Pulakēśi receiving the Persian ambassador is found on a wall in one of the caves at Ajantā. There is, however, a difference of opinion among the scholars about the identification of the scene.

The Chinese traveller Hieuntsang who visited the northern part of the Chālukya kingdom during this period. calls it Moho-la-cha (Mahālōka-Mahārāshtra). He describes the capital as situated to the east of a river and this place is generally identified with Nasik. Some scholars, however, identify it with Ellōrā to whose west there is a river. His description shows that the kingdom was prosperous He pays compliments to the people as being brave, honest and proud and adds ·

> "The king in consequence of possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Kshatriya caste and his name is Pu-lo-ki-she (Pulakēśi). His plans and undertakings are widespread and his beneficient actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time Śīlāditya Mahārāja (Harsha) has conquered the nation from east to west and carried his arms to remote districts; but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him".

After a successful rule of more than three decades Pulakēśi was confronted with a grim situation. The danger came from the Pallavas of Kānchī, who cherished inveterate hatred against the Chālukyas on account of the latter's rise to power. Narasimhavarma I who had succeeded Mahēndravarma I to the Pallava throne resolved to avenge the defeat of his father at the hands of Pulakēśi. The Chālukya monarch foreseeing the peril, sent his army against the Pallava ruler and fierce battles were fought between the two armies near Pariyala, Maṇimangala and Śūramāra. In them the Pallava gained the upper hand and

Pulakēśi suffered reverses. Narasimhavarma pursued the Chālukya forces as far as the capital and captured Bādāmi. To mark this victory an inscription was engraved on a rock in the fort by the Pallava victor. He also assumed the title *Vātāpikoṇḍa* (the conqueror of Vātāpi). Prince Mānavarma of Ceylon appears to have participated in this war on the side of the Pallavas. This event took place in c. 642 A. D.

Nothing is known of Pulakēśi after this event. It is suggested that he lost his life in the battle. Anyway, this was a great calamity to the new empire which passed into a state of temporary eclipse. For about thirteen years the Chālukya empire remained in a disintegrated state without a central authority to exercise control The Pallava ruler appears to have repaired to his kingdom after the victory, leaving his garrisons in occupation of some parts of the Chālukya territory including Bādāmi.

It is difficult to draw up a cogent account of the conditions that prevailed during this dark period. Pulakēśi had left behind five sons, viz. Adityavarma, Chandrāditya, Vikramāditya I Raṇarāgavarma and Jayasimha. There is nothing to indicate that they were not on good terms with one another as has been presumed by some scholars. Of them, Ādityavarma who appears to have been the eldest, inherited the kingdom as gathered from the imperial titles given to him in his records. He and his son, Abhinavāditya both were ruling a small tract in the Kurnool area. Chandrāditya was governing the Sāvantavāḍi region. His queen Vijaya–bhaṭṭārikā was an eminent learned Sanskrit poetess.

Vikramāditya I (c. 655–681 A.D.)

Vikramāditya I freed his kingdom from Pallava occupation, in about 655 A. D. His inscriptions tell us that before this event, the Chālukya empire was eclipsed by three kings (*avanipati-tritay-āntarita*). Though it is difficult to be certain about the identity of these three kings, it is presumed that they were the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kērala kings who were the feudatories of Pallavas. It has been suggested by Prof. Nilakantasastri that

the three kings who had eclipsed the Chālukya kingdom were Ādityavarma and Chandrāditya, the brothers of Vikramāditya I, and Pallava Narasimhavarma. But this suggestion is untenable. The two sons of Pulakēśi, Ādityavarma and Chandrāditya were no doubt calling themselves *mahārājādhirāja*, indicative of their independent position. But there is no indication of their being the rivals of Vikramāditya I whose arch enemy was the Pallava king. The three kings whom he put down might, therefore, have been the accomplices of the Pallava king. We may note here that in the inscriptions of the successors of Pulakēśi, Vikramāditya's son Vinayāditya is said to have subdued *trairājya-Kānchīpati* or *trairājya-Pallavapati* i. e, three kingdoms led by the Pallava king. This expression is to be read with *avanipati-tritaya*. It would be reasonable therefore to assume that the Chōla, Kērala and Pāṇḍya kings, whom Pulakēśi had tried to befriend earlier in his expedition against the Pallavas, later joined the Pallava king in overthrowing the Chālukya kingdom.

The next task of Vikramāditya I, after restoring the Chālukya sovereignty from the critical situation in which it was placed, was to wipe out the disgrace cast on the kingdom by subjugating the Pallavas and to bring about stability. This task he carried out successfully. As is known from the inscriptions, he fought with three generations of the Pallava kings – Narasimhavarma, his son Mahēndravarma II and his son Paramēśvaravarma I. He went as far as Malliyūr to the west of Kānchī in 670 A. D. in his bid to occupy that capital city. In 674 A. D., he was camping at Uragapura (Uraiyūr) on the southern bank of the Kāvērī, which indicates that by this time he was successful in overrunning the enemy's country.

It is interesting to note that the Pallava sources also claim victory over the Chālukyas. Paramēśvaravarma I, for instance, claims to have put to flight the large army of Vikramāditya I in a battle at Peruvalanallūr and even captured Bādāmi. The Tamil work *Periya Purāṇam* avers that the Pallava

general Paranjōti Śiruttoṇḍar brought much booty from Bādāmi. The capture of Bādāmi in these accounts is obviously a fiction and boast; but such allusions seem to indicate that several battles were fought between Vikramāditya I and the Pallava kings. In fact, this enmity between the two powers continued for centuries among the successors of both the families.

Vikramāditya was helped in his exploits by his son Vinayāditya and grandson Vijayāditya. In the absence of Vikramāditya from the capital, these two princes maintained peace at home protecting the capital and the kingdom In the inscriptions of Vinayāditya also, reference is made to his overthrowing the confederacy three kings headed by the Pallava overlord At the same time, Vijayāditya was busy rooting out all the troubles that had beset the kingdom.

Vikramāditya's was a long and successful reign He revived the Chālukya supremacy within a short period of its crisis He is credited with the renewal of the religious and charitable endowments which were in abeyance on account of the Pallava invasions He ruled till 681 A D.

Vinayāditya (681–696 A. D.)

Vinayāditya succeeded his father in 681 A. D. But some of his inscriptions count his regnal year from 678–79 A. D. indicating that he was a *yuvarāja* at that time and took part in the affairs of the kingdom.

Vinayāditya's reign was comparatively peaceful. Since the Pallavas were subdued, there was not much disturbance on that side. Some records ascribe him victory over Kavēra, Pārasika and Simhala kings. Reference to Kavēra i. e. the region of the Kāvēri may indicate his victory over the Pallava forces. The historicity of the other two conquests cannot be established.

In the inscriptions of his son Vijayāditya, Vinayāditya is credited with victory over some king of northern India, and acquisition of the insignia of *Gangā–Yamunā* and *Pālidhvaja*,

Some have suggested in this connection, that Vinayāditya fought a war on the banks of the Gangā and the Yamunā and defeated Yaśōvarma, the ruler of Kanauj, while others identify him with Vajraṭa, who figures in the Rāshṭrakuṭa records among the kings defeated by the Chālukyas. However, in the absence of clear evidence, no definite conclusion can be arrived at on this question.

This north Indian campaign appears to have taken place towards the end of Vinayāditya's reign. Probably, in this campaign his son Vijayāditya was taken captive by the enemy. It appears that Vinayāditya died soon, when his son was still in imprisonment. The epigraphs state that Vijayāditya escaped from the prison and put down the unruly elements in the kingdom after his return. This seems to suggest that by the time he returned to the kingdom his father was no more and disturbances had set in, which he quelled effectively.

Vinayāditya bore the title *Yuddhamalla*. Ranna, the author of the *Gadāyuddha*, refers to him as *Durdharamalla*. His queen was Vinayavatī who survived him. In 699 A. D., she installed the deities Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahēśvara at Bādāmi. He had a daughter named Kumkumamahādēvī who was married to the Ālupa chief Chitravāhana who maintained good relations with the Chālukya ruler

Vijayāditya (*696–733 A. D*)

Vijayāditya succeeded his father in 696 A. D. A major event during his reign was another war with the Pallavas, in which his son *yuvarāja* Vikramāditya II commanded the army. He defeated Pallava Paramēśvaravarma II and received tribute from him. Vijayāditya's rule was long and mostly peaceful. He patronised various religious faiths. He built a temple of Śiva at Paṭṭadakal and made liberal donations to Jaina ascetics. His sister Kumkumamahādēvī, who was a devout Jaina, built a Jaina temple at Lakshmēśvara. One of his records states that he went to Banavāsi to meet Chitravāhana, who was the husband of Kumkumamahādēvī. Vijayāditya ruled till about 733 A. D.

Vikramāditya II (733–745 A. D.)

The rule of the successor Vikramāditya II was eventful. Soon after his accession he had to face an invasion of the Arabs. These Arabs had captured large areas in Sind, but they met with reverses when they penetrated into the Chālukya kingdom. Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśi, son of Dharāśraya Jayasimha of the Chālukya family of Lāṭa, was then in charge of the Gujarat area. He successfully pushed back the Arabs and earned the appreciation of the Chālukya ruler.

One other notable event in the career of Vikramāditya II was his war with the Pallavas, who were the hereditary enemies of the Chālukyas Inscriptions speak of his three expeditions against Kānchī, one of which he led during his father's time. The second expedition brought him complete victory, when he took possession of Kānchī. We have seen how during the days of Pulakēśi II, Pallava Narasimhavarma I invaded Bādāmi and as a mark of victory, he set up an inscription there. In the subsequent years, the Chālukyas succeeded in retrieving the kingdom. But the retaliation was complete only when Vikramāditya II, to commemorate this event, caused to be inscribed on one of the pillars of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kānchī, an account of this achievement. It is edifying to note that this magnanimous king did not destroy and plunder the city of his enemy. On the contrary, all the wealth of the temple of Rājasimhēśvara at Kānchī, which he could take, was returned by him to the deity. The last expedition against the Pallavas was led by *yuvaraja* Kīrtivarma.

Vikramāditya had married two sisters, Lōkamahādēvī and Trailōkyamahādēvī of the Haihaya family. Both of them were zealous patrons of religion and art. Lōkamahādēvī built a temple of Śiva at Paṭṭadakal and named it Lōkēśvara. Arrangements were made through handsome grants, for the worship as well as performance of music and dance in the temple. The architect Anivāritāchāri Guṇḍa was awarded the title *Tribhuvanāchāri*. Trailōkyamahādēvī also built a Śiva temple

naming it after herself as Trailōkyēśvara. Vikramāditya II ruled till c. 745 A. D.

Kırtivarma II (c. 745–757 A. D.)

Kīrtivarma II, born of the queen Trailōkvmahādēvı, succeeded his father in c 745 A D During the life-time of his father, as mentioned earlier, he led an invasion to Kānchī when he put to flight Pallava Nandıvarma II. His reign was peaceful, but the closing years witnessed the downfall of the Chālukya kingdom. His feudatories were growing in strength and were waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the authority of the Chālukyas. Chief among them was the Rāshtraku'a feudatory Dantidurga. As early as 742 A D, this chief asserted his independent position as seen from his Ellorā plates which do not mention his overlord. Within the next twelve years, he grew stronger. In his Samangad plates of 754 A D, he claims the titles *mahārājādhırāja* and the subduer of the Pallavas Thus, he gradually rose to power during the last years of the reign of Kīrtıvarma II who obviously had no strength to put him down. Kīrtıvarma, however, continued to rule till 757 A D Thereafter he was defeated by Rāshtrakuta Krıshna I With him ended the rule of the early Chālukyas

The Extent of the Chālukya Empire

Starting with Bādāmı and the region round about as the nucleus, the Chālukya kingdom swiftly extended on all sides. Kīrtıvarma I and Mangalēśa annexed Konkan by defeating the Mauryas By his victory over the Ālupas who accepted his suzerianty, Pulakēśı II brought the coastal area along the South Kanara district within his kingdom Rēvatīdvīpa i. e. the area round about Ratnāgırı and Alandı near Sātārā, and Karmarāshtra ın the east ı. e. parts of Guntur district, were incorporated into the Chālukya kingdom Pulakēśi went upto the Narmadā but this area could not have been permanently included ın the empire. It enhanced the prestige of the Chālukyas as an influential

political power. The Gujarat area also came under the political influence of the Chālukyas as can be seen from the epigraphs found there In the Nellore district, at Darśi a record of Vikramāditya I is found. Epigraphs speak of his camping far in south near Kānchī, such as at Mallıyur and Uragapura on the bank of the Kāvērī in Chōlıka-vishaya Records of Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya have been found in Kurnool and Anantapur districts. These areas were governed by the Bānas who were the feudatories of the Chālukyas Thus, in the north the river Narmadā, in the east, parts of Kurnool, Guntur and Nellore districts of Andhra Pradesh, the whole of the Mysore area down to the river Kāvērī in the south, were roughly within the dominions of the Chālukya empire at its zenith

Chālukya Dynasties

In political ambition, territorial expansion and dynastic ramification the Chālukyas stand foremost among the dynasties of South India Their achievements were not limited to the setting up of a mighty empire in Karnataka alone The kinsmen of the Chālukya house were founders of new ruling families outside Karnataka in the provinces of Gujarat and Andhra. The Gujarat branches are known as the Chālukyas of Nausāri and the Chaulukyas of Anhilpāṭan The Chālukya dynasty that ruled in Andhra is known as the Eastern Chālukya or the Chālukya of Vengi This dynasty is credited with a long rule of about five centuries. The Chālukyas of Kalyāna who succeeded the Rāshṭrakuṭas in Karnataka were also lineal descendants of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. Besides these, there were a few more minor Chālukya families confined to smaller regions.

The Chalukyan Epoch

The age of the Chālukyas constitutes a fundamental epoch in the history and culture of the Kannada land and its people. It was during this period that in the plateau and in the plains south of the Gōdāvarī, including the western coastal belt, emerged a homogeneous territorial entity or province evincing its

characteristic features, though forming an integral part of Bhāratavarsha. This united province which for the first time earned the comperehensive name Karnataka, comprised of several smaller tracts that existed previously under various names like Karṇāta, Kuntala, Lāta, Karahāṭa, Vanavāsa, Tuluva, Ālvakhēda, Gōmāntaka, Konkaṇa, Punnāta and Mahishamaṇḍala. This unification and integration was brought about through the extensive conquests and annexations carried out by Pulakēśi II who raised a small kingdom to the status of a big empire.

This unification brought in its wake several wholesome results. It promoted the heroic spirit and organising capacity among the subjects whose loyalty and devotion were now pinned on a single sovereign ruler. Within a short time after this, the Kannada people were able to erect, in self defence as well as to assert their political aspirations, a vast, well disciplined and formidable corps of warriors who ever won resounding victories on the fields of battle.

The enormous strength and striking power of the Karnataka forces soon gained renown throughout India. The Karnataka army of the Chālukyas is described as countless and invincible in the records of their successors, the Rāshtakutas The name Karṇāṭa became proverbial for supreme valour and unsurpassed military competence It was by virtue of such excellent troops that the Karnataka rulers were able to achieve a series of military successes and continue their fruitful imperial traditions for about ten succeeding centuries. The example thus set by the Chālukyas was followed by the successive ruling dynasties

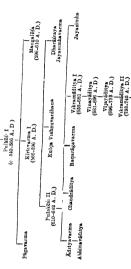
The benefits of unification were not limited to the political and military spheres alone. These were shared in the social and religious life, as well as in the fields of language, literature and art. Consciousness of corporate living permeated through the social groups and communities who cherished profound sense of self-confidence and self-respect. They were inspired by high ideals of religious faiths and spontaneous instincts of art which found their charming expression in the creative forms of archite-

ecture, sculpture, literature, painting and music. The Kannada script, language and literature attained a remarkable state of development

Patronised by the rulers and supported by the enlightened public, educational institutions thrived in the capital and in other centres. Considerable attention was paid for the cultivation of Sanskrit learning which was the repository of scientific knowledge and national wisdom A large number of records of this period composed in Sanskrit and Kannada language and engraved in Kannada script on rocks, blocks of stone and copper plates have survived to the present day, though many more writings and works engraved on fragile materials like palm leaves and barks of trees, have perished in course of time.

Two eminent personalities of this stalwart age stand out foremost as its unique representatives. These are the great emperor Pulakēśi II and his princely daughter-in-law Vijayabhattārikā If the one symbolised prowess and political paramountcy, the other stood for cultural height, and attainments in art and literature She is described as Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Art and Learning Happily, she was both Kannada Sarasvatī and Sanskrit Sarasvatī. She took pride in calling herself Karṇāṭi. Her proficiency in Sanskrit and Sanskrit poetic composition were of such an order that she was considered second only to the pre-eminent Kālidāsa of all India reputation.

Thus, the foundations of all that was noble, great, mighty, splendid and elevated in the Kannada land and its people were firmly laid during this period. From this time onward, Karnataka proceeded on the path of all round prosperity and sprang to unprecedented grandeur as seen from her later history.

The Chālukya Genealogy
Javasimha
(c. 500-520 A. D)
Raṇarāga
(c. 520-540 A. D)
Pulkēśi I
(c 540-566 A. D)
Pūgavarma
Kirtivarma I
(566-596 A. D.)
Mangalēśa
(596-610 A. D.)
Pulakēśi II
(610-642 A. D.)
Kubja Vishnuvardhana
Dharāśraya
Jayasimhavarma
Ādityavarma
Abhinavāditya
Chandrāditya
Raṇarāgavarma
Vikramāditya I
(655-681 A. D.)
Vinayāditya
(681-696 A. D)
Vijayāditya
(696-733 A. D.)
Vikramāditya II
(733-745 A. D.)
Kirtivarma II
(745-757 A. D.)
Jayasimha

CHAPTER V

THE RASHTRAKUTAS
(757-973 A. D.)

The term *Rāshṭrakūṭa* was originally an official designation which, later on, like many other instances, crystalised into a family name. The antiquity of this office may be traced to the age of the Mauryas whose inscriptions mention officers called Rāshtrika. This appellation was prakritised into Raṭhi and during the later period we come across chiefs ruling in southern and western India bearing the titles *Raṭhi* and *Mahāraṭhi*.

The expression *Rāshṭrakūṭa* is a combination of two words, viz. *Rāshṭra* connoting a region or district and *kūṭa* meaning a chief. This expression stands on par with another familiar official designation of a lower denomination viz *grāma-kūṭa*, which stands for the headman of a village. This subsequently assumed the form *gāvuṇḍa* or *gauḍa*, still current in the areas of Karnataka and Tamil country. In the early inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh is met with the expression *Raṭṭaguḍi* denoting a regional office. This term is taken to be an equivalent of *Rāshṭrakūṭa*.

Some scholars have tried to argue that Raṭṭa was the original name of the family, which was Sanskritised as Rāshṭrakūṭa. But this view has no justification, for, it looks natural to derive the word *raṭṭa* itself from Sanskrit *rāshṭra* or *rāṭ*, which is the same as *rāj*, as these terms of hoary antiquity were prevalent from the age of the Vedas. The same is the position of *grāma* which occurs in Vedic literature. It may be noted in this connection that a number of ancient political traditions, handed down through the Maurya and Gupta rulers, exercised wide influence on the political institutions of the south in the process of their evolution. Early occurrence of the term *Rāshṭrakūṭa* as

an office is traced in the copper plate charters of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. It is not possible to connect the word *raṭṭa* with a Dravidian base.

There were more than one Rāshṭrakuṭa family even during the period of the Chālukyas. One of them was the family of Mānapura. An inscription of about the 7th century gives the succession of its members as follows: Mānānka, his son Dēvarāja, his son Bhavishya, and his son Abhimanyu. Some scholars hold that Hoshangabad district of Madhya Pradesh was the home of this ruling family, while others think that they hailed from Mān in Satara district of Maharashtra. A Rāshṭrakuṭa chief named Gōvindarāja, from the Satara area, is known to have been a subordinate of Chālukya Vikramāditya II. Gōvindarāja's father was Śivarāja. If Mānapura is the same as Mān in Satara district, then it looks probable that Gōvindarāja also belonged to the Mānapura family. Another family of Rāshṭrakuṭas hailed from Achalapura i. e. modern Elichpur in Amaravati district of Maharashtra. Inscriptions of Nannarāja of this family, hailing from Sangaluda, Tīvarakhēḍ and Multai, indicate that he held sway over Betul-Amaravati area, as a feudatory of Chālukya Vinayāditya and also of Vijayāditya. Durgarāja is the earliest known member of this family. His son was Svāmikarāja and Svāmikarāja's son was Nannarāja.

However, the family that replaced the Chālukyas of Bādāmi was that of Dantidurga. This family is known as the Rāshṭrakuṭas of Malkhēḍ, after Malkhēḍ (Sk. Mānyakhēṭa) in Gulbarga district which later became the capital of the Rāshṭrakuṭa kingdom.

Origin

As indicated by the significant title *Lattalūra-puravarādhīśvara* occurring in their records, the original home of these Rāshṭrakuṭas was Lattalur, the same as present Lātur in Osmanabad district of Maharashtra. This area formerly formed part of Karnataka as attested by the surviving vestiges of Kannada place-names, Kannada inscriptions and other cultural relics.

Latta of the above name is a prakrit variation of Raṭṭa. Thus its early form was Raṭṭana-ur which, in course of time, passing through its later form, Lattana-ūr, became Lattalur ultimately. Hence, positively this is a Kannada nomenclature, supported by its mention as Lattanur (Lattana-ur) in an early epigraphical record of the place

It is interesting to note that the above point receives support from a statement in the Deoli Plates of Rāshtrakuṭa Krishṇa III, dated 940 A. D. In this late record the descent of the family is traced to its first ancestor, a chief named Raṭṭa. He was succeeded by Rāshtrakuta, after whom the dynasty took its name Herein is an attempt to explain history through tradition.

The Rāshtrakūtas, like the Kadambas and the Chālukyas, belonged to the Kannada stock. Because of their association with Vidarbha and other areas which are now included in Maharashtra, they cannot be identified with this region and language which had not taken shape at that early period. They inherited cultural traditions of Karnataka Their personal names show that their mother tongue was Kannada, for instance, Asagavva, Abbalabbe, Rēvakanirmadi (Immadi Revakka), etc. Kannada literature enjoyed liberal patronage in their court *Nripatunga Amōghavarsha I is credited with the authorship of the Kavirajamārga*, the earliest classical work on Kannada poetics. The stone inscriptions of this family are almost all in Kannada script and language An epigraph of Krishṇa III composed in ornate Kannada literary style, has been found at Jurā near Jabalpur in Maharashtra Kannada is used for the sign-manual even in the Sanskrit records of the rulers of this family, who had settled in distant Gujarat In the light of such cogent evidence the earlier misconceived theories of Telugu, Maratha or Rajput origin of the Rāshṭrakuṭas, propounded by scholars like Burnell, Vaidya and Fleet, bear scant justification.

The early Rāshṭrakuṭa epigraphs, are devoid of lengthy *praśastis*, recounting legendary associations of the family. The

later records, however, trace its descent in the lineage of Yadu some starting with Brahmā as the first progenitor. According to some inscriptions their early ancestor was Sātyaki of the Yādava clan. Such descriptions are obviously later innovations, intended to invest the family with epic fame. In a few records, the family is said to have originated from a person called Tunga. This is obviously an attempt to explain the suffix *tunga* occurring in the titles of the members of this family like *Śubhatunga*, *Nṛipatunga* and *Jagattunga*.

The Royal Emblem

The dynastic emblem of the Rāshrakūtas was Garuḍa or the, Primeval Eagle, the vehicle of Vishnu, which was exhibited on the seals of their copper plate charters On account of its association with Gaṇapati and Durgā in some instances the figure is identified as Śiva But in most examples, the symbol of Garuḍa is conspicuous and predominant However, both Vishnu and Śiva are invoked in the beginning of their charters thus testifying to the catholicity of their religious leanings This liberal outlook is further attested by the patronage extended by these rulers to Jainism outside the Hindu fold.

The Rashṭrakuṭa monarchs were often referred to by the general appellation *Vallabha*, meaning lord. This was an abbreviation of the fuller expression *Śrī-Pṛithvī-Vallabha*, a characteristic title owned by the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, from whom it was evidently inherited by the Rāshṭrakuṭas, their successors. Balhara of the Arab writers, connoting the Rāshṭrakuṭa king, is a contraction of Ballaharāya, prakritised from Vallabharāja.

Dantidurga was the first chief to bring the Rāshṭrakuṭa family to prominence by defeating Chālukya Kīrtivarma II. Thus, he became the founder of the dynasty raised by him. His inscription at Ellōrā gives the names of his ancestors as follows :

Dantivarma
|
Indra I
|
Gōvindarāja
|
Karka I
|
Indra II
|
Dantidurga

Dantidurga (c 735-756 A. D.)

Dantidurga was the son of Indra II. He assumed the title *Sāhasatunga*, symbolising his outstanding attribute of enterprise. He bore the epithet *Khadgāvalōka* (he whose glance was like dagger). Dantidurga, no doubt, was a valorous warrior who placed his family in the position of an independent ruling dynasty. The political situation prevailing at the time proved favourable to him in his endeavours When he embarked on his career, Chālukya Vikramāditya II was on the throne and it was a time of political turmoil and uncertainty. The Arabs were menacing on the northern border while Vikramāditya himself was busy fighting the Pallavas The Arabs had then defeated the Maitrakas of Valabhi and the Gurjara-Pratīhāra chiefs and were trying to advance further south But Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśi, the Chālukya governor of Gujarat, resisted their progress and succeeded in forcing the Arabs to retreat. It was at such a juncture that Dantidurga was trying to establish himself and he succeeded His records recount a long list of his conquests But we are not certain if he actually accomplished all of them He is stated to have conquered Kānchi, Kalinga, Kōsala, Śrīśaila, Malava and Lāṭa. It seems, he accompanied his Chālukya overlord to Kānchī and participated in his expedition against the Pallavas He is believed to have helped Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśi in repulsing the Arab incursions. He is credited with the victory over the Gurjaras and the conquest of Malava and the performance of the *Hiraṇyagarbha* sacrifice at Ujjain. It is possible to conclude from

such statements and claims that during the reign of Chālukya Vikramāditya II, Dantidurga emerged as a powerful and adventurous political leader. Consequently, he was able to defy the suzerainty of the Chālukyas and establish himself in the northern part of their kingdom. The period of his rise to power and governance may be placed approximately between 735 and 756 A D.

Kṛishṇa I (c 756–774 A D)

Dantidurga died without issue, and therefore his uncle Krishṇa I succeeded him to the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne about 756 A D. After assuming power, Kṛishṇa completely routed Chālukya Kīrtivarma II who had recovered from the defeat at the hands of Dantidurga, and was still wielding authority, being in posession of the major parts of the Chālukya kingdom Kīrtivarma probably died in his fight with Kṛishṇa One other victory of Kṛishṇa was over Rāhappa from whom he is said to have wrested *Pālidhvaja*. Though it is difficult to establish the identity of Rāhappa, it is certain that he was a Chālukya general, since he is associated with *Palidhvaja*, the insignia of the Chālukya dynasty. The suggestion that Rāhappa was the same as Karka of the Gujarat branch of the Rāstrakūtas does not hold good.

After subjugating the Chālukyas, Kṛishṇa busied himself for some years in consolidating his power. He was not, however, satisfied with what he had acquired and launched on a project to expand his territory His conquests were not many, but they were effective He first set out on an expedition towards the west to Konkaṇ. This area which was a part of the Chālukya empire, had obviously become independent during the period of Kīrtivarma II's weak rule After annexing this region to his kingdom, Krishṇa placed in charge of this area Saṇaphulla of the Śilāhāra family.

His next move was towards the region of the Gangas of Talakāḍ. This campaign, however, does not appear to have been smooth. Ganga Śrīpurusha put up a stiff opposition and many battles appear to have been fought between the two as indicated by the numerous hero-stones found in the Ganga area, which speak of many warriors who laid down their lives in

battles on the side of the Gangas Kṛishṇa was no doubt able to march steadily until he reached the city of Mānyanagara i. e. Maṇṇe in Tumkur district, where he celebrated his victory. But he had to allow Ganga Śrīpurusha to rule over the territory, only a part of which fell into his hands. This victory was completed about 768 A. D, the date of the Manne plates which describe this event Gōvinda II, son of Kṛishṇa, took a leading part in this expedition

Pleased at the performance of his young son Gōvinda II, Kṛishṇa sent him on a military expedition to Vengi, the ruler of which area belonged to the Chālukya family and therefore would not easily accept the authority of the Rāshtrakuṭas Gōvinda fought with Vishṇuvardhana of Vengi about 769 A. D and defeated him He celebrated this victory on the 15th June 769 A. D. on his way back from Vengi, on the confluence of the Kṛishṇā and the Mūsī, where he had camped

Kṛishṇa was already well advanced in age when he ascended the throne. Nevertheless, he was able to place the Rāshṭrakuṭa kingdom on a firm foundation He also promoted art and religious constructions and had a beautiful temple carved out in one of the rocky hills at Ellōrā The temple is now known as the Kailāsanātha temple. He bore the titles *Śubhatunga* (supreme in doing good) and *Akālavarsha* (yielding timely showers).

Kṛishṇa's last known date falls about the middle of 773 A. D. His son Gōvinda II succeeded Kṛishṇa some time thereafter. His another younger son was Dhruva.

Gōvinda II (*774–780 A. D.*)

Even before his coming to the throne, Gōvinda II was well acquainated with the affiairs of the kingdom. In fact, his career, as the crown prince, was more spectacular than after he became the king. We have seen above that, as a prince, he fought with the Gangas and the Chālukyas of Vengi and achieved victories. But his career as a king was a sad failure. As inscriptions

relate, power corrupted him and he became pleasure-loving and licentious. This degraded him in the eyes of his subordinate officers and also the ministers and the public. The leadership therefore passed into the hands of his competent and popular younger brother. Scholars have suggested that Dhruva plotted against Gōvinda, and snatched authority from him. Some have stated that Gōvinda, suspicious of his brother's designs, appointed another prince as the regent, thus depriving Dhruva of his claim to the throne. Gōvinda is further said to have sought the help of the kings of Kānchī, Vengi and others to put down Dhruva.

But these views are not supported by proper evidence. The true picture of the occurrences, as presented by a careful study of the records and their correct interpretation, is as follows. It is pointed out in this connection by Shri K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar that, Gōvinda, though a pleasure-seeker, was considerate and foresighted. Conscious of his own weakness and aware of the strength and capability of Dhruva, he realised the danger involved, if he continued to exercise his right to rule. Therefore, in the interest of the state and for the welfare of his subjects, he, like a wise man, willingly resigned his official duties and entrusted the affairs of the kingdom to Dhruva. The latter, on his part, accepted this arrangement, all the while remaining loyal and dovoted to his elder brother. Thus, the transfer of regal authority was smooth and without a hitch. There was no question of ill will and discord between the two brothers, much less any plot or revolt. Gōvinda had the titles, *Prabhūtavarsha* (showerer of plenty) and *Vikramāvalōka* (he whose glance was heroic).

Dhruva (c. 780–793 A. D.)

Dhruva came to the throne about 780 A. D. He soon proved himself to be one of the ablest kings in the Rashtrakuṭa dynasty. He followed in the footsteps of his predecessors and pursued the plans of expanding the kingdom. At this period, Kanauj continued to be the pre-eminent city in the north and held the position of prestige and prominence since the days of Harsha. Indrāyudha who was then ruling over Kanauj, was only a titular king.

This political situation had fanned the ambitions of two powerful rulers, who were aspiring to establish their hegemony over north India by capturing Kanauj One of them was the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra king Vatsarāja whose sway extended over Malwa and Rajputana, and the other was Dharmapāla of Bengal. Vatsarāja was the first to step into the field He proceeded against Kanauj and succeeded in occupying it. Indrāyudha, however, was allowed to remain on the throne as his vassal. The Pāla rival soon challenged this prize, but had to retreat from the Ganga-Yamuna doab area, vanquished by Vatsarāja Undaunted, Dharmapāla rallied his forces for a second encounter with Vatsarāja who was also manouvering for victory

At this juncture, Dhruva had planned his northern expedition, assisted by his able sons Gōvida and Indra Crossing the Narmadā, he marched towards Kanauj Sighting this new danger, Vatsarāja decided to meet the southern invader farther on his way. In the sanguinary battle fought between the two armies Vatsarāja was routed and had to flee for life. It was now the turn of Dharmapāla who opposed the Rāshtrakūta victor in the doab region, but was woefully beaten, having had to lose his royal insignia Thus, Dhruva came out successful in the triangular fight that took place for the supremacy of north India. With no rival to challenge his might, he now stood as the undisputed overlord of the north Satisfied with this achievement he did not push further to occupy Kanauj, as he did not aim at territorial conquest and annexation He spent some time on the banks of the holy Gangā and Yamunā and triumphantly started on his return journey with trophies of war which included the emblems of the two rivers

The victorious army attacked, on its way back, the Vengi kingdom. Its ruler, Vishṇuvardhana IV, had already been subdued by Gōvinda II, during the reign of Krishṇa I. Now he was not prepared to face the Rashtrakūṭa invasion again and therefore sought the friendship of Dhruva by offering his daughter Śīlabhaṭṭārikā in marriage.

In the south, Dhruva had to deal with the Gangas and the Pallavas, both of whom were hostile to him. Ganga Śrīpurusha had been defeated by Kṛishṇa I earlier. But his son Śivamāra was unwilling to accept the Rāshṭrakuṭa superemacy. This necessitated Dhruva to march against him. Śivamāra's valiant defence was of no avail and he had finally to submit He was taken captive by Dhruva whose son Stambha was appointed governor of the Ganga territory. Dhruva's next move was towards Kāñchī Here again, the Pallava king Nandivarma I was easily overpowered and forced to accept the Rāshṭrakuṭa authority.

It is rather difficult to arrange chronologically these conquests of Dhruva. It has been generally believed that he first completed his southern expedition and then proceeded towards the north But, this view does not seem to be correct. Events show that he first marched towards the north and then accomplished the southern conquests. The defeat and capture of Ganga Śivamāra must have taken place only after he succeeded his father Śrīpurusha in 788 A D. This means that Dhruva fought with Śivamāra sometime after 788 A. D. Further, the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Vatsarāja came to throne about 778 A. D. and his fights with the Pāla king must have commenced in the next three or four years i. e, c. 782 A. D. It is at this time i. e. soon after his assuming power, that Dhruva attacked Vatsarāja. It is therefore plausible to surmise that Dhruva started his career with the northern conquests and later achieved victories in the south.

Dhruva was successful in expanding the boundaries of the Rāshṭrakuṭa empire and enhancing its power and prestige on an unprecedented scale. He spread the Rāshṭrakuṭa influence in all directions and there was no contemporary power which could oppose him. He was a redoubtable warrior and had a pleasing personality. He was adept in the art of governance and ably administered the affairs of the state even from the time of his brother's rule. Dhruva assumed the titles, (unequalled) *Nirupama*,

Kali-vallabha (Vallabha, the warrior), *Dhārāvarsha* (incessant showerer) and *Śrīvallabha*. He was also called Dhōra, which is a Prakritform of Dhruva.

Dhruva had four sons, Karka, Stambha (or Kambha), Gōvinda III and Indra, of whom the eldest had died early. Stambha, the second son, was governing Gangavāḍi Dhruva chose his third son Gōvinda to be his successor, as he was found to be the ablest and worthiest. It has been suggested that in an effort to prevent the war of succession which might follow, Dhruva adbicated the throne in favour of his son Gōvinda. This prince, however, is said to have opposed his father's move of adbication in his favour.

Dhruva's queen Śīlamahādēvī or Śīlabhattārikā, was an accomplished lady Grants issued in her name without reference to her husband suggest that she enjoyed sovereign authority along with her husband. She is one of the few women administrators of early India. As Dhruva's last known date is April 793 A. D, probably he died in the latter half of that year and was succeeded by Gōvinda III.

Gōvinda III (793–814 A. D)

Gōvinda's position when he ascended the throne was not secure He feared that his elder brother Stambha, who was deprived of the throne, would fight for his right and his fears soon came true. Stambha was as though waiting for the death of his father. Soon after, he planned to oppose Gōvinda In order to achieve his object he formed a confederacy by entering into alliance with twelve other chiefs who supported his cause.

Gōvinda was prepared for such a contingency. To counteract his brother's manouvers, he released Ganga Śivamāra from prison to win his goodwill and set him against Stambha. Pallava Nandivarma played a prominent role in securing this release. But Gōvinda's expectations were belied. Śivamāra, instead of being grateful to Gōvinda, joined his adversary Stambha, along

with the Pallava ruler Stambha appears to have lured the Ganga prince to his side with a promise to restore him to his kingdom, if he succeeded in getting the Rāshtrakūta throne. The efforts of Gōvinda's adversaries were, however, thwarted. The names of the thirteen potentates who are said to have assisted Stambha against Gōvinda, are enumerated in the Nēsarikā grant as follows Pāṇḍya, Pallava, Chōla, Ganga, Kērala, Andhra, Vengi, Chālukya, Maurya, Gurjara, Kōsala, Avanti and Simhala. But it is doubtful if all of them did actually participate in the struggle.

Gōvinda's position was in no way shaken by this alliance. He promptly put down the rebellion and Stambha was taken captive. But soon, magnanimously, he freed his brother and conferred on him the viceroyalty of Gangavādi Stambha also realising his position, never again tried to be ambitious and remained a faithful subordinate of Gōvinda But Gōvinda did not forgive the ungrateful Śivamāra. He was put into prison once again.

After this episode, Gōvinda directed his attention towards the north, where an opportunity was waiting for him to exhibit his ability As seen above, in the time of his predecessor the striking power of the Rāshtrakuṭas had won laurels and established its supremacy in the north Indian political scene. But these victories had left no permanent results The situation had again become unsettled on account of the rivalry between the contending parties, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Pālas. This time Dharmapāla had, at the outset, gained the upper hand He had occupied Kanauj and put his nominee Chakrāyudha on the throne. But this could not go unchallenged Nāgabhaṭa II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja, raided Kanauj and defeated Chakrāyudha Dharmapāla who came to the rescue of Chakrāyudha was repulsed.

Such was the auspicious occasion when Gōvinda invaded the north. His northern expedition was planned with foresight and accomplished with consummate strategy. Indra, his younger brother and faithful lieutenant in his military adventures, who

held the charge of southern Gujarat and Malwa as his viceroy, was entrusted with the responsibility of protecting the Rāshtrakūṭa dominions from the enemy's attacks when the main army was engaged in the north With these precautions, Gōvinda moved into the nothern territories

Nāgabhaṭa who came out to oppose the invading army could not withstand the onslaught of the Rāshtrakuṭa troops He fled from the battle-field, leaving the doab region at the mercy of the victor Realising the futility of encounter, Chakrāyudha rushed forth from his capital to offer his unconditional surrender to the conqueror Dharmapāla was convinced of the superior strength of his adversary and realised his helpless state He therefore, thought it prudent to bow before the might of Gōvinda. The other lesser rulers of the north were also subdued by the Rāshṭrakuṭa generals

Gōvinda III appears to have proceeded in a triumphant mood as far as the foot of the Himālayas This event is graphically described by a panegyrist of the Rāshtrakuṭa court as follows ·

"His (Gōvinda's) horses drank the icy liquid bubbling in the Himalayan streams and his war elephants tasted the holy water of the river Gangā The valleys of the high mountain intensely echoed the din of musical instruments played at the time of his auspicious baths"

The date of this expedition cannot be fixed with precision. But it appears to have taken place about 800 A. D

Gōvinda could not stay long in the north and had to return to his capital On his way back, the rainy season forced him to remain at Śrībhavana, which is Sarbhaon in Broach district, at the foot of the Vindhyas. He was given a hearty welcome by the local chief Śarva. The joy of his successful northern campaign was crowned by the birth, in the camp, of a son, later known as Amōghavarsha Nṛipatunga.

Soon, Gōvinda had to interfere in the affairs of Vengi. When its ruler Vishṇuvardhana died about 799 A. D., his son Vijayāditya II who succeeded him did not acknowledge Rāshtrakuṭa supremacy Gōvinda, therefore, supported his brother Bhīma Śaluki to secure the Vengi throne This resulted in a long-drawn hostility between the two brothers, one of whom was backed by the Rāshṭrakuṭas

After his return to the capital Gōvinda had to divert his attention to the political affairs of the south His long absence in the north had given the Ganga, Pallava, Pāndya and Kērala rulers a favourable opportunity to defy the Rāshṭrakuṭa supremacy and to assert and strengthen their authority. Gōvinda broke up their confederacy and planned an expedition against the Pallava king Dantiga or Dantivarma who had turned hostile The Rāshṭrakuṭa campaign against the Pallava capital Kānchī, which took place between 803 804 A D, was attended with success In the course of this expedition, Gōvinda was camping at Alampur in November 803 A D. and at Rāmatīrtha in the next April.

Thus, the southern successes of Gōvinda were as spectacular as those of the north Overawed by his prowess, and to gain his favour, the king of Ceylon presented him two statues, one of himself and another of his minister These were installed and exhibited like the pillars of fame in the Śiva temple at Kānchī to proclaim his glory.

Gōvinda III emulated and even surpassed his father Dhruva in manifesting the superiority of the Rāshtrakutas in political foresight, diplomacy, military strength and organizing capacisy. Unparalleled in courage, martial spirit and strategy, and as the leader of a formidable band of invincible warriors, he reinforced and augmented the prestige and power of his dynasty to a marvellous extent. From the Himalayas to Ceylon and from Saurāshṭra to Bengal, all the territories of Bhāratavarsha lay prostrate before the onslaught of the Rāshṭrakuṭa forces By his achieve-

ments the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire attained the zenith of glory. Gōvinda III was undoubtedly supreme among the Rāshṭrakuṭa emperors

Gōvinda was privileged to enjoy a number of titles and epithets, like *Jagattunga* (lofty in the world), *Jagadrudra* (God Rudra of the earth), *Prabhūtavarsha* (showerer in plenty), *Srīvallabha* (lord of the goddess of wealth and splendour), *Janavallabha* (overlord of mankind), *Kīrtinārāyana* (god Nārāyana in renown) and *Tribhuvanadhavala* (of unsullied glory in the three worlds)

Gōvinda's foresight and interest to safeguard the Rāshtrakuṭa dominions in the north is further exemplified by his creation of the Gujarat viceroyalty He had appointed his younger brother Indra who was thoroughly loyal and enjoyed his full confidence, as the viceroy of southern Gujarat This prince rendered worthy service to his brother in his northern expedition After the premature demise of Indra, his son Karka Suvarṇavarsha inherited the authority to rule over the province Thus, a line of Rāshtrakuṭa governors and rulers was established and continued. This is known as the Gujarat Rāshṭrakuṭa branch

During his closing years, Gōvinda felt the necessity of a capable guardian to look after his son Amōghavarsha who was a young boy and minor His choice fell on his nephew Karka Suvarṇavarsha of the Gujarat family, whom he invited to act as the regent of the crown prince and manage the affairs of the kingdom. This arrangement worked well Gōvinda passed away in 814 A. D. His wife was Gāmuṇḍabbe.

Amōghavarsha I Nripatunga (814–878 A. D.)

The young prince Amōghavarsha came to the throne in 814 A D. and began his reign under the stewardship of his cousin Karka. But he was not destined to continue in peace. The accession of a juvenile as the head of a vast empire and the absence of a powerful hand to direct and control its numerous affairs, afforded a welcome opportunity for the enemies to play

their part. These were the rival kinsmen of the royal family whose claims to authority were superseded, the feudatories and state officials who aspired for positions of vantage, the princes of the Ganga family who were ever-averse to submit to Rāshṭrakuṭa suzerainty and were sorely aggrieved by the interference of Gōvinda III in their internal affairs, and the Eastern Chālukya prince Vijayāditya II who had been deprived of his throne by the political strategy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor. Thus, all these unruly elements joined hands in an extensive conspiracy, so to say, and the new government was gripped in an upheaval of opposition, revolt and turmoil all around. As a measure of safety, the new king appears to have been removed from the capital to a secret hiding place

We have no means at our disposal to draw up a clear and connected account of the catastrophe that befell the Rāshṭrakuṭa sovereignty eclipsing it for some time But, as the boy emperor was still a novice and teenager, the sole responsibility of piloting the empire from the grave disaster and saving it from impending ruin, lay on the shoulders of the regent who ably discharged it. Karka rose to the occasion and retrieved the situation. Steadily, he took measures to quell the rebellion and put down the turbulent forces It may be surmised that the calamitous revolt convulsing the Rāshṭrakuṭa dominions broke out by 818 A D. Some three years might have elapsed for Karka to bring the situation under control and restore order out of chaos and anarchy. He succeeded in reinstating Amōghavarsha on the throne by 821 A. D Well secure on the throne, the emperor set out to reestablish Rāshṭrakuṭa supremacy.

Amōghavarsha had to devote greater attention to the kingdom of Vengi and Gangavādi, which were seething with discontent and hatred against the Rāshṭrakuṭa authority. Vijayāditya II who secured the Vengi throne, evicting his rival Bhīma Śaluki, waged incessant wars with the Rāshṭrakuṭas for twelve years. Vijayāditya's grandson Guṇaga Vijayāditya who became the ruler in 844 A. D. continued the Eastern Chālukya hostilities against the

Rāshtrakūtas. In his time Amōghavarsha sent his army against this kingdom and inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy in the battle of Vingavalli. The Vengi territory was subjugated and occupied by the Rāshtrakuta forces.

Rāchamalla, who succeeded Śivamāra II on the Ganga throne, could rule over only the southern part of the kingdom, the northern part of which was governed by Bankēśa, of the Chellakētana family, who was a general of the Rāshtrakūta king Rāchamalla made attempts to recover the whole of Gangavādi, but in doing so he suffered defeat at the hands of Bankēśa However, Rāchamalla's son Ereyanga Nītimārga, who succeeded him in about 843 A D, availing himself of the absence of Bankēśa who had left for Gujarat to quell a rebellion, occupied the northern portion of the Ganga territory This was not tolerated by Amōghavarsha who took the help of Gunaga Vijayāditya to put down the Ganga Gunaga marched against Gangavādi defeating on the way Mangi, a Nolamba chief, who was an ally of Nītimārga. The Ganga ruler could not withstand the attack and had to sue for peace Amōghavarsha who was engaged in the affairs of Gujarat, welcomed this move and as a result of the treaty entered into, peace reigned between the two houses. The friendly relations were further cemented by a matrimonial alliance, Nītimārga's son Butuga marrying Amōghavarsha's daughter Chadrōbalabbe.

After firmly establishing Amōghavarsha on the Rāshtrakuta throne, Karka returned to his home in Gujarat. He was succeeded by his son Dhruva I in about 830 A. D Dhruva ruled peacefully for some time, but soon had to face a formidable enemy mentioned as Vallabha, who attacked Gujarat and occupied a part of the kingdom While fighting with the invader, Dhruva lost his life. His son Akālavarsha Krishna succeeded in regaining the lost territories, but the hostilities did not cease Akālavarsha's son Dhruva II also had to encounter the opposition of Vallabha.

After continuing for some time, the rule of the Gujarat Branch of the Rāshtrakūtas came to an end in the reign of Dhruva II's successor by about 888 A. D.

The identity of this Vallabha cannot be established with certainty. It has been generally believed that this Vallabha was none but Amōghavarsha I himself But Amōghavarsha had no reason to be hostile to his cousin Karka or to his successors. On the other hand, he had to remain always grateful to them. As seen above, it was Karka, who saved the kingdom for him and established him firmly on the throne. Moreover, Amōghavarsha who was of religious disposition and peace-loving, could not have thought of attacking Gujarat Therefore, the suggested identity of this Vallabha with Amōghavarsha is untenable. Vallabha was a title generally associated with the Chālukyas also and it may as well be suggested that the Vallabha referred to in the records belonged to a Chālukya family

In the further south also, peace was established. Pallava Dantiga's successor Nandivarma, who had enough troubles with the Pāndyas, could not afford to antagonise Amōghavarsha. Instead, he sought the help of the Rāshtrakūtas to suppress the Pāndyas The two families came closer through the marriage of Nandivarma with Amōghavarsha's daughter Śankhā.

There is no evidence to show that Amōghavarsha led any campaign to the north. Inscriptions speak of his victories over Anga, Vanga, Magadha and other countries. But pre-occupied as he was with the internal problems, like the rebellions of his subordinate chiefs and neighbouring rulers, he could not think of any such expeditions. Hence, the reference to these victories has to be treated as conventional. Nārāyaṇapāla, his contemporary of the Pāla dynasty, claims to have defeated a Draviḍa king who has been identified with Amōghavarsha. But the general nature of the statement indicates that even this claim was more conventional than factual.

Amōghavarsha did not show any expansionist tendencies As he grew in age, he leaned more towards religion and literature. Jaina traditions claim that he was a devout follower of Jina. He, however, continued to entertain equal interest in Hindu religion also. He cared more for peace than for war and he settled differences with the Gangas and the Pallavas through friendship and matrimonial alliances. Being deeply interested in the welfare of his people, he even went to the extent of making sacrifices for them. His Sanjan Plates narrate an incident of his offering his own finger to the goddess Mahālakshmī to ward off some calamity threatening his subjects

Amōghavarsha was not only interested in literature, but was himself a scholar and a composer. *Kavirājamārga*, the earliest known work on Kannada poetics, is ascribed to him. Another work named *Praśnōttaramālā* is also said to have been composed by him. As an author and a patron of letters, Amōghavarsha's name lives as long as Kannada language and literature live.

Mānyakhēta became the renowned capital of the Rāshtra kūtas during the reign of Amgōhavarsha who built the city and beautified it. This is the present day Malkhēd in the Gulbarga district. Before the foundation of this city, the Rāshtrakuṭas appear to have ruled from various headquarters.

In the latter part of his reign the emperor's son Kṛishṇa seems to have been involved in a rebellion against his father. But he was reconciled with the latter who appointed him crown-prince A man of religious propensities, Amōghavarsha used to periodically retire from active duties and on such occasions his son Kṛishṇa attended to the affairs of the state At the end of his reign the emperor abdicated in favour of this prince

The proper name of the emperor was Śarva But he is familiarly known by his titles, *Amōghavarsha* (fruitful showerer) and *Nṛipatunga* (paramount king). Prominent among the epithets associated with him were *Vira-Nārayāṇa* (valorous god Nārāyaṇa) and *Atiśaya-dhavala* (exceedingly Pure•

Amōghavarsha had a long reign of sixty-four years and he passed away in 878 A. D. His queen was Asagavve and his son Kṛishṇa II. Of his three daughters, Chandrōbalabbe was married to Ganga Butuga. Rēvakanimmaḍi was married to Ereyanga, another member of the Ganga family, while Śankhā, a third daughter, was married to Pallava Nandivarma. Rēvakanimmaḍi was associated with the administration of Eḍatore Vishaya.

Kṛishṇa II (878–914 A. D.)

Kṛishṇa, who ascended the throne in 878 A. D., started his reign with wars. After the successful northern expedition of Gōvinda III, not much attention had been paid to that direction. Amōghavarsha's peaceful policy emboldened the Gurjara-Pratīhāras to penetrate into the Rāshṭrakuṭa dominions. When Bhōja of that dynasty took the offensive stand, Kṛishṇa had to proceed against him. The two armies met on the Narmadā and in the fight that ensued, Bhōja had an upper hand and Kṛishṇa had to retreat. Encouraged by this victory, Bhōja marched westward into the Gujarat area where he was stopped by Kṛishṇa II of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭa branch. This governor pursued the enemy upto Ujjain which he occupied. Thus, the loyal chief of Gujarat saved the Rashṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II from an adverse situation. This event took place sometime before 882 A D.

There was disturbance on the eastern side also. The traditional enmity between the Rāshṭrakuṭas and the Chālukyas of Vengi continued. Guṇaga Vijayāditya of this family had not forgotten the defeat he had suffered at the hands of Kṛishṇa's father Amōghavarsha. Taking the opportunity of Kṛishṇa's preoccupation in the north, he attacked the northern frontiers of the kingdom. Inspite of the help received from Śankaragaṇa of the Kalachuri family, whose sister Kṛishṇa had married, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king was defeated and had to seek refuge with his father-in-law Kokkalla. Pāṇḍuranga, the general of the Chālukya

army chased the Rāshtrakūṭa forces and overran their territory The cities of Achalapura and Kiranapura were occupied Vijayāditya secured back all the Chālukya territories which had been lost to the Rāshtrakūṭas

But, this was only a passing phase The death of the Chālukya king in 891 A. D. encouraged Kṛishṇa to retaliate and attack the Vengi kingdom even before the next king Bhīma I, the nephew of Gunaga Vijayāditya, ascended the throne The campaign was successful mainly due to the effective role played by his general Baddega, the feudatory chief of the Chālukya family of Vēmulavāda Thus, virtually all the Vengi kingdom came under his control and Bhīma became his captive. This occupation was, however, only temporary, for, we see Bhīma later on, being crowned as king with the help of one of his feudatories. Krishna renewed his attack by sending an army under his general Gundayya In the battle that was fought near Niravadyapura, modern Nidudavōlu in the East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh, Gundayya was killed by Bhīma's young son who also died in the same battle. The battle was thus indecisive and, in all probability, the parties came to an understanding that there should be no further aggression from either side

In the meanwhile, many changes had taken place in the south. The Pallava power was now slowly declining and in its place the Chōlas were emerging as a new power Kṛishṇa sought the friendship of this family by offering his daughter in marriage to Āditya I To her was born a son named Kannara The Rāshtrakuṭa king, however, had to fight with the next Chōla king Parāntaka I, son of Āditya by another wife, on behalf of his grandson whose claim for the throne was upheld by him This battle was fought about 911 A. D., at Vallāla i e modern Tiruvallam, soon after Parāntaka's coming to the throne, but Kṛishṇa failed in his endeavour.

A notable incident in this reign was the friendly relation of the ruler with the Arabs. It is seen above that during the time

of Chālukya Vikramāditya II, the Arabs had tried, in vain, to invade Gujarat. But it seems, later they adopted peaceful methods and some Arab immigrants came to settle in that area. A record of Indra III mentions a Tajjika (Tājika) i e. Arab as the governor of Sanjan under Krishṇa II This officer who evinced interest in Hindu religion, had a Hindu minister.

Though energetic and active, Krishṇa's rule was not, on the whole, successful. Inspite of his matrimonial alliances with the Chēdi kings, he could not establish his reputation in the north. He lost his hold over Malwa and the kingdom of Vengi. His relationship with the Chōlas did not fetch any advantages. However, it may be said to his credit that though surrounded by enemies and confronted with difficulties, he safeguarded the boundaries of the Rāshṭrakuṭa dominions.

Krishṇa, also mentioned as Kannara, inherited the ancestral titles, *Akālavarsha* and *Śubhatunga*. His queen came from the Kalachuri family of Chēdi. She was the daughter of Kokkalla and the sister of Śankaragaṇa Krishṇa's son Jagattunga married Lakshmī and Gōvindāmbā, daughters of Śankaragaṇa. Jagattunga predeceased his father Consequently, the succession fell upon Krishṇa's grandson Indra who was born of the Chēdi princess Lakshmī. He had a step-brother named Baddega who later ascended the throne as Amōghavarsha III.

Indra III (914–929 A D)

Youthful Indra III succeeded his grandfather about the end of 914 A. D. Soon after came an opportunity to display his ability when Upēndra, a prince of the Paramāra family, suddenly attacked the northern posts of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire and captured Gōvardhana in the Nasik district. Indra lost no time in beating back the enemy who was forced to withdraw.

Indra now planned an expedition to the north where the political conditions were propitious for his military adventure. Decline had set in the political power of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras

after the successful rule of the mighty king Bhōja I. At the end of the reign of his successor Mahēndrapāla, the succession was disputed. Mahēndrapāla's sons, Bhōja II and Mahīpāla, who were half-brothers, contested for the throne This was a sufficient pretext for Indra to interfere, and promptly he led an invasion to Kanauj. On his way, he camped at Kālapriya i. e. modern Kalpi, crossed the Yamunā and then attacked the capital city. Mahīpāla who had spent his resources in internal feuds, could not face the Rāshṭrakuṭa incursion and consequently had to flee for shelter Indra occupied the capital and sent his feudatory, Narasiṁha II of the Chālukya family of Vēmulavāḍa, to chase Mahīpāla This achievement of his patron's father has been graphically described by the Kannada poet Pampa in his *Bhārata*. He states· "Mahīpāla fled, as if struck by a thunderbolt staying neither to eat, nor rest, nor pick himself up, while Narasiṁha pursuing, bathed his horses at the junction of the Gangā."

This was a spectacluar victory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa diplomacy that brought glory to Indra He could not, however, stay there long and returned to the capital in 916 A. D Subsequently, Mahīpāla regained Kanauj with the help of the Chandēlla king Harsha.

The Kalachuri and the Rāshṭrakuṭa families had been brought closer by intermarital relations. Indra also had married a daughter of Ammaṇadēva of the Kalachuri family. Thus, the two families continued to be in alliance with each other during this reign also.

Indra could not much influence the affairs at Vengi As seen above, Bhīma of the Eastern Chālukya family had freed himself from the Rāshṭrakūṭa authority His successor Vijayāditya IV died in a battle at Kalinga and this resulted in a tussle for the throne Vijayāditya's son Amma I succeeded his father. But the succession was disputed by his uncle Vikramāditya II. Amma, however, withstood all opposition and ruled till about 925 A. D. His son Vijayāditya V succeeded him. But, within a short period, in 928 A. D., he was ousted by Tāla I, the son of Yuddhamalla I of the collateral family, whose claim was

supported by Rāshtrakūta Indra III. However, within a month, Tāla was killed by Vikramāditya II, brother of Vijayāditya IV. Repercussion took place when Vikramāditya II was assassinated by Bhīma, one of the sons of Amma, who was soon overthrown by Yuddhamalla II, son of Tāla I.

Like Dhruva and Gōvinda III, Indra was successful in extending the Rāshtrakuta hegemony in the north and capturing the central city of Kanauj. He thus once again established the superiority of the military organisation and diplomacy of the Rāshtrakutas. His kinship with the Kalachuri house appears to have helped him in his daring exploits.

Indra III ruled till the middle of 929 A. D. He took the titles *Nityavarsha* (incessant showerer), *Rattakandarpa* (Ratta, the handsome) and *Rājamārtānda* (The Sun among kings). He had two sons, Amōghavarsha II and Gōvinda IV.

Amōghavarsha II (929–30 A D.)

Indra III was succeeded by his elder son Amōghavarsha II in 929 A. D. But his reign was a very short one, it ended in the very year of its commencement. No definite reason is known for the abrupt end of his rule. But, judging from a queer confessional statement in a record of his younger brother and successor, Gōvinda IV, it appears that this prince manouvered to set aside his elder brother and usurp the throne.

Gōvinda IV (930–935 A. D.)

Gōvinda IV ascended the throne in May 930 A. D. As he had secured the kingdom by questionable means, he could not earn the goodwill of the people or his officials. Added to it, his own licentious life alienated the sympathies of his courtiers. Consequently, a conspiracy was formed to oust him and bring to the throne his uncle Amōghavarsha III. This prince was leadong a secluded life with his son Krishna III in Chēdi, the home if his queen.

The leaders of the conspiracy were Būtuga II, the brother of the Ganga ruler Rāchamalla III and Arikēsari II, a Chālukya prince of Vēmulavāḍa. Butuga had contracted matrimonial alliance with Amōghavarsha III, by marrying his daughter Rēvakanimmaḍi. Obviously, this Ganga prince was trying to receive the help of Amōghavarsha, in his plan to seize the throne by expelling his brother Rāchamalla III. Likewise, Arikēsari had antagonised Gōvinda IV by giving asylum to Vijayāditya V of Vengi Gōvinda who had espoused the cause of Yuddhamalla II, demanded the surrender of Vijayāditya. Arikēsari having spurned this claim, Gōvinda marched against him. He was daringly opposed by the former whose position was strengthened by the growing unpopularity of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king and also the help he received from the feudatory chiefs like Butuga who sided Amōghavarsha Arikēsari won a decisive victory over Gōvinda who had to flee from the country Amōghavarsha was then anointed as the Rāshṭrakuṭa king. Arikēsari's protege, the poet Pampa, confers the credit of installing the Rāshṭrakuṭa emperor on his patron. Gōvinda appears to have made alliance with the Chōla king Parāntaka I to surmount his difficulties Gōvinda's inglorious reign ended in 935 A. D.

Amōghavarsha III (935-939 A.D.)

By the time Amōghavarsha III commenced his rule, he was advanced in age. Besides, being religious by temperament, he evinced little interest in the affairs of the kingdom. His son and crown prince, Kṛishṇa III, therefore took active part in the political and administrative affairs of the kingdom Amōghavarsha's accession, however, was opposed by the leaders of the rival party, who had supported Gōvinda IV. Prominent among them were Dantiga and Vappuka of Achalapura. But these were promptly subdued by the crown prince, aided by the Ganga and Chālukya allies.

Amōghavarsha was committed to the task of securing the Ganga throne to his ally Butuga II. At the instance of his father,

Krishna III marched with a large army and invaded Gangavādi. With the help of his Nolamba ally Anniga, Rāchamalla made vain attempts to hurl back the enemy's forces. He died on the battle field and Anniga fled Thus, Butuga was installed on the Ganga throne.

Krishna's mother was a princess of the Kalachuri family of Chēdi, to which also belonged his wife. But, notwithstanding this matrimonial kinship, Krishna, ambitious as he was, antagonised these rulers by defeating the prince Sāhasatunga of that family. This resulted in a discord between the two families and Krishna alienated the sympathies of his northern relatives. He further invaded the territory of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and captured the forts of Chitrakūta and Kāliñjara.

Thus, Amōghavarsha was only a nominal ruler and it was Krishna who actually controlled the affairs of the state Amōghavarsha had the title *Suvarnavarsha* (showerer of gold). After his death in 939 A D., Krishna ascended the throne. Amōghavarsha had three other sons Jagattunga, Khottiga, and Nirupama.

Krishna III (939-967 A. D)

Soon, Krishna came into conflict with a chief named Lalleya, who appears to have questioned the new ruler's right to the throne But Ganga Butuga II, the trusted feudatory and brother-in-law of Krishna, promptly vanquished the rebel and made Krishna's position secure Freed from the internal trouble, Krishna applied himself to the task of establishing peace and order in the kingdom and strengthening his resources against the external threats Emulating the example of his ambitious ancestors, he planned to exhibit his superiority among the political powers of the north and the south.

The north did not call for his serious attention, for, he himself, earlier, as a crown prince, had led a successful expedition there. But, in the south the political situation had turned

ominous with the decline and extinction of the Pallava rule and the rise and rapid growth of the Chōla power.

The founder of the new line of Chōla rulers was Vijayālaya who started his political career by capturing Tanjore which became his capital about 850 A. D. Vijayālaya's ambitious son Āditya I subverted the authority of his Pallava suzerain Aparājita and proclaimed his independence. Consequently, Tondaimandalam, roughly comprising the areas of Nellore, North Arcot, South Arcot and Chingleput districts, which formerly belonged to the Pallava dominions, was annexed to the Chōla kingdom (c. 903 A. D). By this the Chōla territory bordered on the frontiers of the Rāshtrakuta empire.

The aggressive policy and expansionist activities of Āditya I's son and successor Parāntaka I posed a grave challenge to the Rāshtrakuta paramountcy. Soon after his accession (907 A D) Parāntaka had invaded the Pāndya country, seized its capital Madura and extended his sphere of influence as far as the island of Ceylon. Krishna III had also some old scores to pay back. The advent of Parāntaka I had, as seen earlier, thwarted the Rāshtrakuta attempts to secure the Chōla succession for Kannara, the maternal grandson of Krishna II. In the battle of Vallāla fought on this issue, Parāntaka had vanquished the Rāshtrakuta forces with the assistance of Ganga Prithvīpati and deprived the Bānas and the Vaidumbas, the loyal feudatories of the Rāshtrakutas, of their kingdoms Parāntaka had further provoked Krishna III by giving quarter to Gōvinda IV, his father's dethroned rival, who appears to have had marriage relation with the Chōla house.

At the head of a formidable army and ably aided by the Ganga ally Būtuga II, Krishna invaded and rushed into the Chōla territory. Parāntaka who was expecting this danger for sometime, had prepared to sternly oppose the enemy by stationing a strong garrison under the efficient command of his eldest son and crown prince Rājāditya, assisted by another son Arikula-

kēsari. Both the armies clashed near the village of Takkōlam, six miles to the south-east of Arkoṇam in the North Arcot district The battle raged toughly and fiercely and later Butuga gained upperhand when he led a deadly attack against Rājāditya seated on an elephant, killing both the animal and its rider

This event which crowned the Rāshṭrakūṭas with decisive victory and dealt a crushing blow to the Chōlas, had far-reaching consequences. The Rāshṭrakūṭa warriors displayed their valour, triumphantly overrunning the southern provinces, sweeping all opposition before them The Chōla territory from Kānchī in the north to Tanjore in the south was occupied by the Rāshṭrakuṭa troops To mark this achievement Kṛishṇa assumed the grand title, 'Conqueror of Kānchī and Tanjore'. Following up his success Kṛishṇa marched as far as Rāmēśvara and planted a pillar of victory over there, subduing on his way the Pāṇḍyas, Kēralas and the king of Ceylon. After subjugating the south, Kṛishṇa appears to have encamped for a considerable time at Mēlpāḍi in the North Arcot district, consolidating his gains and finalising the military arrangements in the occupied areas. In recognition of his signal services on the battle-field Kṛishṇa rewarded Butuga by placing under his governance the districts of Banavāsi, Belvola and Purigere, besides other tracts.

Soon after the debacle at Takkōlam the southern feudatory chiefs of Parāntaka revolted and asserted their independence. Thus, the Chōla empire which was the outcome of hard work of about a century, vanished from the political horizon and we do not hear of it for more than three decades until the time of Rājarāja I who revived and rebuilt it. The Rāshṭrakūṭa sway over the Chōḷa country continued till the end of Kṛishṇa's reign in 967 A. D. and subsequently too.

Kṛishṇa now turned his attention to the north. This was necessitated on account of certain changes that had taken place in the political situation during the period of his pre-occupation with the south. The Rāshṭrakūṭa supremacy was challenged once

again by the northern powers like the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras The forts of Kālanjara and Chitrakuṭa were captured by the forces of the newly risen power of the Chandellas. The northern expedition was planned under the command of Mārasimha II, son of Ganga Butuga II who was no more. Success again favoured the Rāshṭrakuṭa arms. Mārasimha invaded and subjugated the western part of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra kingdom. He thus earned the title *Gūrjarādhirāja* (Lord of the Gurjara country). Sīyaka Harsha of the Paramāra family of Malwa, another rising power in northern politics, was subdued and made to accept Rāshṭrakuta suzerainty The Kannada inscription discovered at Jurā near Jabalpur, which extols his merits in ornate style, stands as a monument to his successful northern campaign. These expeditions were carried out shortly after 964 A. D.

As before, fraternal feuds had continued in the Vengi kingdom. In 945 A D, Bhīma II died and his second son Amma II seized the throne, superseding the claims of his elder half-brother Dānārṇava. This resulted in a long-drawn contest. Another claimant for the kingdom was Bādapa, son of Yuddhamalla II, who opposed Amma. At the request of Bāḍapa, Krishṇa III intervened in the Vengi affairs and helped the former to secure the throne. Amma, however, continued his efforts to regain the lost prize and succeeded for a while by disposing of Bāḍapa's younger brother and successor Tāla II in a fight. Provoked by these machinations of Amma, Krishna III invaded the Vengi kingdom Routed on the battle-field, Amma fled to Kalinga for refuge Ultimately, Dānārṇava was installed on the Vengi throne

Kṛishṇa III's reign was now drawing to a close. His was one of the most successful among the reigns of the Rāshṭrakuṭa monarchs. He was a daring warrior, a shrewd statesman, a skilful military organizer and a capable administrator. He started his political career during the reign of his father and continuously fetched victories in many fields of Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereignty and diplomacy. He retrieved the prestige and

renown of the Rashṭrakūṭa dynasty that had suffered set-backs during the less competent rules of his predecessors. He once again manifested its superiority in the north Indian as well as south Indian political spheres. The shattering blow administered by him to the growing menace of Chōḷa imperialism was his greatest achievement.

Kṛishṇa was also known by the Prakrit form of the name as Kannara. Among others, he was associated with the title *Akālavarsha*. He expired about the end of 967 A.D. Kṛishṇa appears to have had three younger brothers, named Jagattunga, Khoṭṭiga and Nirupama, and a son who died prematurely. This prince had a son named Indra (IV). But this grandson being too young, the succession passed on to his younger brother Amōghavarsha Khoṭṭiga. This prince bore the epithet *Raṭṭa-kandarpa* (handsome Raṭṭa)

Khoṭṭiga (967–972 A. D)

With the accession of Khoṭṭiga commenced the downfall of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. He was advanced in age and lacked military leadership and administrative capacity. The hostile rulers who had been molested and provoked in the aggressive wars of Kṛishṇa III, took advantage of this situation to wreak their vengence. The first to retaliate was the Paramāra king Sīyaka Harsha whose capital Ujjain had been occupied by the Rāshṭrakūṭa forces in the preceding reign. He invaded the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominions with a formidable army and marched into their territory as far as Malkhēḍ about the middle of 972 A. D. The capital city was captured and plundered. The Ganga chief Mārasimha II seems to have succeeded soon after, in driving away the enemy. But the blow was serious and fatal to the Rāshṭrakuṭa power which was shaken to its roots. Khoṭṭiga died before long.

Karka II (972–73 A. D.)

The next ruler was Karka II, son of Nirupama. He is also called Karkara and Kakkala. When this prince ascended the throne, the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire was tottering. Added to this

were the incompetence, viciousness and maladministration of the ruler and his evil counsellors, which hastened its collapse. The officials became insubordinate and the feudatories defied the authority of the crown. Confusion and disorder prevailed, and discontent was widespread among the subjects Thus, the ground was prepared for the dynastic revolution. A conspiracy was organized for the overthrow of the Rāshtrakūta regime and the leader of the movement who raised the standard of revolt was Taila II. He was a scion of the imperial Chālukya house of Bādāmi, who had started his career as a subordinate local officer under the Rashtrakutas since the time of Krishna III. He cherished the goal of restoring the sovereignty of his ancestors, which had been forcibly seized by Rāshtrakūta Dantidurga over two centuries ago Now came the golden opportunity to fulfil this ambition.

By his long service under the Rāshtrakutas in various capacities Taila had gained vast experience in statecraft and proficiency in military lore. He had contracted marriage alliance with the Rāshtrakuta house, by taking Jākavve, the daughter of a Rāshtrakuta chief Bhammaha, as wife This kinship might have helped him to enlist support for his cause even from some members of the Rāshtrakuta family Taila might also have received help and encouragement from the Kalachuri rulers of Chēdi, as his mother Bonthādēvī belonged to this house, being the daughter of king Lakshmanarāja and sister of Yuvaraja II. It is noteworthy, in this context, that the relations between the Rāshtrakūtas and the Kalachuris of Chēdi were other than friendly since the days of Krishna III.

Marshalling a strong and well-disciplined army, Taila marched against the Rashtrakūta capital. But the imperial forces did not easily yield to the aggressor. Karka closely assisted by two veterans of the Rāshtrakūta family, who had hastened to his rescue, promptly resisted the assault at a distance. In a straight and sanguinary fight between the two armies, Taila ultimately succeeded in vanquishing his adversaries. The two

allies of Karka were killed on the battle field, but Karka himself escaped with safety. He seems to have survived in a humble position in a village of Shimoga district until 991 A. D. Thus, after an ignoble period of eighteen months ended the reign of Karka in 973 A. D

The protagonists of the Rāshtrakūṭa authority, however, did not give up all hope. The Ganga chief Mārasimha II who was an indefatigable warrior, a loyal feudatory, a trusted ally and a near relation of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, made a futile attempt to revive its power. He sponsored the cause of Indra (Indra IV), Kṛishṇa III's grandson and his own sister's son and crowned him king After their utter failure against heavy odds, both Mārasimha and Indra IV, who leaned towards Jainism, spent their last days in relgious pursuits and expired by the vow of *sallēkhana* (fasting unto death). The former died at Śravaṇabelgoḷa in 975 A. D. and the latter at Bankāpur in 982 A D.

Collapse of the Empire

The Rāshtrakūṭa empire crashed like a meteor, its collapse was unexpected, abrupt and dramatic At the end of Kṛishṇa III's reign in 967 A. D, the Rāshtrakūṭa ascendancy had reached its climax of political power and prestige. But, soon after his death, it rapidly descended into the abyss of annihilation and by 973 A. D., within an inconceivably short period of six years, it vanished like a dream. Although the details of this catastrophe are not fully known, we may broadly analyse the causes that could have contributed to the denouement.

Aggression and repression are the powerful weapons used by ambitious imperialists pursuing the statecraft of expansion, and sooner or later they lead to violent repercussions in the form of bitter hatred and revengeful retaliation. The external policy of aggrandizement of its rulers created enemies around the Rāshtrakūṭa empire. By their invasions on and inroads into the kingdoms of the south, central and north India the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarchs had antagonised their rulers. Although the

empire of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, the sworn enemies of the **Rāshṭrakūṭas**, disintegrated in the early decades of the tenth **century, their** legacy of hostility was inherited by their successor **feudatory** states like the Paramāras and the Chandēllas The **latter were** making a bid for supremacy by capturing Kanauj. **From** the time of Kṛishṇa II, the Kalachuris of Chēdi had allied **themselves** with the Rāshṭrakuṭas in their successes and reverses. **But, Krishna** III lost their support by his act of aggression, which **adversely** affected the political fortunes of this southern power More than all, this king's dealings with the Paramāras proved disastrous to the Rāshṭrakuṭa hegemony To these must be added the jealousy and succession disputes among the kinsmen of the royal family, impoverishment of the financial resources caused by the incessant wars and military expeditions, deterioration in the economic conditions and the consequent growing discontent among the subjects The rise of the feudatory powers like the Śilāhāras of Konkan, Rattas of Saundatti and the Yādavas of Sēuṇadēśa is yet another factor that hastened the disruption of the empire.

Rāshṭrakūṭa Capitals

A certain amount of uncertainty is experienced in regard to the location of the capital of the Rāshṭrakuṭas during the early period of their rule Lattalur, as we have seen, was the early seat and original home of this family. Achalapura or modern Elichpur in Vidarbha or Berar appears to have been the place whereto they moved from the south in quest of their fortune. Karka and Indra, the predecessors of Dantidurga might have resided here After the foundation of his independent kingdom, Dantidurga seems to have made Ellōrā his royal headquarters, which might have continued to enjoy this status during the reigns of his successors. With the rise of their political ambitions and in order to exercise effective control over their southern dominions inherited from the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāshṭrakuṭa rulers must have felt the necessity of establishing their capital in a southern and centrally situated region.

The choice ultimately fell on Mānyakhēṭa or Malkhēd and the decision was taken in the time of Gōvinda III to develop this rural township into an imperial capital.

This project was accomplished during the long and relatively peaceful reign of his successor Nṛipatunga Amōghavarsha I. Mānyakhēṭa remained the central capital city of the Rāshṭrakuṭa empire until their last days. Further on, the later Chālukyas who supplanted the Rāshṭrakuṭas also preferred this city as their royal seat for a period of about half a century from the reign of Taila II to that of Jayasimha II, whereafter they shifted to Kalyāna. With the rise of the imperial power of its rulers, Mānyakhēta attained dimensions, splendour and vast reputation in the nations of the world. It is extolled in contemporary literature and admired in the accounts of foreign visitors.

Besides the above, the following places are also mentioned as capitals: Mayurakhindi which is either Morkhand in Nasik district or Markandi in Chanda district, Kandhārapura which is Kandhār in Nanded district and Pratishthāna or Paithaṇ. But they have to be treated as provincial capitals or provisional headquarters. In regard to Kandhārapura it seems to have been founded by, or named after, Kṛishṇa II, Kandhāra being a Prakrit from of Kṛishṇa.

Epoch of the Rāshṭrakūtas

Stepping in the wake of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Rāshtrakuṭa age is a lustrous epoch in the history of Karnataka. The achievements of this epoch in the spheres of territorial expanse, political supremacy, military prowess and diplomacy, as well as attainments in the cultural domains of language, literature, religion and art, are shining and substantial, some of them endowed with imperishable merits transcending the barriers of time and space.

The Rāshṭrakuṭa dominions were wider in extent than those of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. Broadly speaking, the Narmadā and the Kāvērī demarcated their northern and southern boundaries, their

western boundary stretching as far as the Arabian sea It included, though not permanently, parts of Malwa and southern Gujarat in the north, strips of western Andhra like the tracts of Warangal and Cuddapah in the east and the areas of Kānchī and Tanjore in the south. Roughly speaking, they held sway over the whole of present Maharashtra and Mysore States and parts of Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu

However, from the point of daring military adventures and the consequent political influence, their prestige and reputation traversed through the length and breadth of Bhāratavarsha from the Himālayas to Rāmēśvara and from Saurāshṭra to Kāmarūpa The period of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was an age of imperialism and contest for supremacy among strong and ambitious powers in the ancient and early medieaval period of India Prominent among them were the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras in the western and central region of north India and the Pālas in the east. Similarly, the Chōlas rose later in south India Besides these, there were secondary powers like the Kalachuris in the north and the Pallavas, Eastern Chālukyas and Gangas in the south Thus, it was not easy for any power to emerge successful in the fray unless it had achieved superiority on account of political stability, military strength and organization and proficiency in strategy and diplomacy. Approximately from 790 to 800 A. D, in the course of about a decade, the Rāshṭrakūṭa warriors won astounding victories twice over on the battle fields of north India and established their paramountcy. A similar feat was performed a century later in about 916 A. D. On every occasion, in the course of these three expeditions, the Rāshtrakuta armies marched against and invested the imperial city of Kanauj and traversed the Gangā-Yamunā region. After a lapse of about three decades, the Rāshtrakuṭa ascendancy was again demonstrated for the fourth time in the south in 949 A. D. on the battle field at Takkōlam.

Viewing retrospectively, few empires that flourished in India in the historic past till the modern times can boast of such

spectacular achievements in the political and military domains. In this context, five great empires stand before us for the sake of comparison; namely, Maurya empire, Gupta empire, Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire, Vijayanagara empire and Mughal empire. In respect of the dimensions, the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire was no doubt smaller in extent than the first two and the last. This may be attributed to the fact that the Rāshṭrakuṭas did not aim at territorial acquisition and annexation beyond certain limits. But, their empire had a longer lease of life than the first three. The Maurya and Gupta empires, in particular, disintegrated within short periods after their supremacy The Gurjara Pratīhāra empire, though outstanding in some respects, was inferior in leadership, political sway and overall performance, placed by the side of the Rāshṭrakuṭa empire In national spirit, military enterprise, material prosperity, cultural magnificence and longevity, Vijayanagara holds a unique position Although some of its rulers tried to serve the interests of their alien subjects, the Mughal empire, after all, was the creation of the foreigners who invaded this country to conquer and to subjugate, to impose their rule and enforce their religion and culture All these empires, it may be noted, were renowned in the contemporary progressive nations of the world, having trade and cultural contacts with the countries of the west and the east We may again recollect in this connection, the testimony of the contemporary Arab writer Sulaiman who ranks the Rāshṭrakuṭa empire among the four great contemporary empires of the universe.

Physical strength alone, of the fighting forces, however nourished, will not fetch laurels in the contested arena, unless it is properly trained, disciplined and equipped. There is evidence to affirm that the superiority of the Rāshṭrakuṭa warriors was the result of a well-planned and efficiently organized long term military policy. The Karnāṭa soldier was noted for his warlike virtues like fortitude, alertness to encounter the aggressive enemy, unflinching valour, enterprise and daring heroism. Rājaśēkhara, a north Indian Sanskrit poet who must have known the performance of the Rāshṭrakūṭa soldiers, compli-

ments the Karnāṭas as born veterans in the art of fighting in the theatres of war and skilled in military strategy. Such testimonials are amply substantiated by the uncommonly enormous number of picturesquely carved memorial slabs, found all over Karnataka, erected to honour the warriors, who sacrifised their lives for a noble cause The motto engraved on these memorials, known as hero-stones, usually contains the following exhortation·

> Fear not death, life is momentary,
> Fight for a worthy cause, reward is yours.

Turning to the cultural realm, the benefits accrued are rich and wholesome. Catholic in religious leanings and broad-minded in matters of religious faiths and convictions, the Rashṭrakuta monarchs bestowed their sympathy and support to various creeds and doctrines As a result of this, the traditional religious faith of Vedic lore, now consolidated and organized as Hindu religion, and divided into schools and sects like Śaivism, Vaishṇavism and Śāktaism, thrived Many, among the kings, the feudatory chiefs and provincial officers, were followers of Hinduism and contributed to the prosperity of this religion. Of the two heterodox faiths, Jainism and Buddhism, the latter was losing ground on account of natural forces of decadence The former, however, flourished and became increasingly influential, having had the privilege of securing enthusiastic patronage from the members of the royal family and zealous support of the officials of the state and elite sections of the society It may appear rather paradoxical that even the followers of Muslim religion, who came to this country with the avowed object of violence, conquest and forcible conversion, received not only favourable treatment, but even positive encouragement to peacefully settle and pursue their religious practices This is a rare phenomenon in the religious history of nations.

The Rāsṭhrakūtas promoted architecture, sculpture, painting and other arts. Rock-cut and structural temples of architectural

excellence were erected. Foremost and superb among them stands the Kailāsa temple of the former category at Ellōrā. 'It is a splendid achievement of art and considering the technical skill and labour involved, is unequalled in the history of the world'. Vincent Smith extols it as the most marvellous architectural freak and one of the wonders of the world. The poet who wrote the inscription at Ellōrā, adverting to it, fancies that even the denizens of heaven were awe-stricken by its grandeur, whispering among themselves, 'this must be the creator's miracle and not a human performance, otherwise how could it be so perfect and magnificent!' This and other monuments were also embellished with paintings and decorated with artistic carvings and sculptural panorama.

Kannada script, language and literature received impetus and manifested spectacular growth. Kannada alphabet assumed round and beautiful shapes and forms. Epigraphical records engraved in Kannada script and language were produced in large numbers. Emperors and potentates patronised Kannada learning, language and literature side by side with Sanskrit. Kannada attained productivity and classical dignity. Several poets and authors of note came forth with their monumental literary creations.

The *Kavirājamārga*, the first literary treatise on Kannada poetics, ascribed to Amōghavarsha I Nṛipatunga, is a singular literary composition in Kannada. The very character of this literary art and the enumeration therein of a good many Kannada writers that flourished earlier, stand testimony to the state of development and maturity reached by this southern speech by this time.

In this work Nṛipatunga demarcates the boundaries of the Kannada speaking country and characteristically describes the literary and cultural accomplishments of its people as follows :

Twist sacred rivers twain it lies
From famed Gōdavarī
To where the pilgrim rests
His eyes on holy Kāvērī.

The people of this land are skilled
To speak in rhythmic tone
And quick to grasp a poet's thought
So kindred to their own.

Not students only, but the folk
Untutored in the schools,
By instinct use and understand
The strict poetic rules.

The inscription at Jurā, known as Jurā praśasti, of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, mentioned above, is an epigraphical landmark of classical Kannada literary composition, with charming poetic diction in polished *Kanda* metre Its theme is the triumphs of this great monarch in the fields of politics and moral discipline Here we cite the specimens

This lusty Elephant Rider
uprooted the roots of that proud Chōla
who had extirpated the family of Pāṇḍya,
whose ancestor of epic fame, a compeer of
Lord Indra to share his seat on elephant's back,
had participated in the Bhārata war.

This Son of Another's Wife
never casts a glance of passion
on another's wife.
Adoring her more than his mother
who nourished him with her milk,
his mind never lost restraint.

This epoch ushered in the golden age of Kannada literary renaissance heralded by master architects like Nṛipatunga, Ādi-

Pampa, Nāgavarma, Ponna and Ranna. The last two of these had the privilege of being fittingly honoured by emperors with the illustrious title, 'emperor among poets.'

Indulging in a metaphor, if the Chālukyas of Bādāmi laid firm and solid foundations of the united state and sturdy race of Kannadigas, to the Rāshṭrakūṭas goes the credit of furnishing the edifice with a magnificent superstructure adorned with sumptuous art. Under the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Kannada and Karnataka evinced youthful and advanced growth. The genealogy of the family is given below.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa Genealogy
Dantivarma
Indra I
Gōvinda I
Karka I
Indra II
Dantidurga
(c. 735-756 A. D.)
Krishṇa I
(756-774 A. D.)
Gōvinda II
(774-780 A. D.)
Dhruva
(780-793 A. D.)
Karka
Stambha
Gōvinda III
(793-814 A. D.)
Indra
Amōghavarsha I
(814-878 A. D.)
Krishṇa II
(878-914 A. D)
Jagattunga

(continued)

Jagattungā
Indra III
(914-929 A D)
Amōghavarsha II
(929-930 A.D.)
Gōvinda IV
(930-935 A.D.)
Amōghavarsha III
(935-939 A. D.)
Krishna III
(939-967 A. D.)
Indra IV
Jagattunga
Khottiga
(967-972 A. D)
Nirupama
Karka II
(972-973A. D.)

CHAPTER VI

THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANA AND THE KALACHURIS (973–1198 A. D.)

The Chalukyas of Kalyana

The Succession

Scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet held the view that the Later Chālukya dynasty, also known as the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, that was restored to power by Taila II was not a continuation of the earlier one.

A conflicting view is put forth regarding the relationship between the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the earlier Chālukyas of Bādāmi based on the ground that the records of the former trace their genealogy from Satyāśraya without reference to Hāriti and Mānavya as in the case of the latter. But it might be observed against this view that the early Chālukyas from Pulakēśi I down to Kirtivarma II, excepting Kīrtivarma I and Mangalēśa, bore the title *Satyāśraya* which is stated to be the name of the first member of the family in the Aihole inscription. The second argument is that the later kings had titles ending with *malla* like *Jagadēkamalla* and *Tribhuvanamalla* which distinguished them from the kings of the earlier dynasty. This objection does not hold good in view of the fact that recently, inscriptions of the members of the earlier family have been found showing that they also bore the titles like *Yuddhamalla* and *Rājamalla*, though such titles were more frequently and prominently used by the Later Chālukyas. It has to be noted in this context that the titles may change and that they are not sure guides of identification.

A good number of records of the Later Chālukyas continue their narration of the genealogy from Kīrtivarma II down to Taila II and excepting in one detail, the intervening names of

kings agree with the account given by the poet Ranna in his *Gadāyuddha*. The genealogy according to Ranna would be :

Vijayāditya

Vikramāditya II — Kīrtivarma II

Bhīma I (Bhīmaparākrama) — Kīrtivarma III — Taila I — Bhīma II — Vikramāditya III — Ayyaṇa I — Vikramāditya IV — Taila II

This slightly differs from the genealogy given in the inscriptions which is as follows :

It may thus be seen that while according to Ranna, Bhīma II was the son of Taila I whose grandson was Vikramāditya *III*,

in the epigraphical records Bhīma II figures as the son of Vikramāditya III and grandson of Taila I This discrepancy is obviously due to varying traditions.

The latest known date of Kīrtivarma II is 757 A. D. whereas the earliest known date of Taila II is 973 A D. In this period of nearly 220 years seven kings of the family ruled, according to the above accounts This was the period when the Rāshṭrakūtas held sway over the country and the Chālukyas had sunk into a subordinate position

Predecessors of Taila II

There are no contemporary records which refer directly to any one of these seven members An inscription, in characters of about the 8th century, engraved on a pillar to the left of entrance into the Mallikārjuna temple at Pattadakal reads *Śrī perggade mahārāja Taili mahādhirāja pesaru* This record seems to imply that Taila mentioned therein, who was a local officer of some distinction (*Śrī Perggade*), gifted the pillar in question Significant in the context are the high-sounding titles, *Mahārāja* and *Mahādhirāja* (the great king and the great overlord) associated with him Obviously this dignitary owned an exalted status It is likely that this Taila is identical with Taila I in the above Chālukya genealogy

Ayyaṇa I, the great-grandson of Taila I, is said to have married the daughter of Krishṇa This prince has been identified by some scholars with Krishṇa II, the Rāshṭrakuṭa king No strong grounds, however, exist for making such an identification.

Ayyaṇa's son was Vikramāditya IV who married Bonthādēvī, the daughter of Lakshmaṇarāja of the Kalachuri family of Tripuri. A record from Soṇḍokola, dated 971 A D and referring to Vikramāditya has been assigned to Vikramāditya IV by Mr Rice. But the record is more likely that of Rāshṭrakūṭa Khoṭṭiga. The date of the record falls in the reign period of Khoṭṭiga, and further, the reading of the name Vikramāditya is doubtful

Taila II (973-997 A. D.)

Taila II, as seen before, was a subordinate of Kṛishṇa III. In 957 A. D. we find him as a subordinate of Kanharadēva, governing the Mēlpāṭi region. But later, in a record of 965 A. D., he figures as a *mahāsamanta* governing Tarddavāḍi 1000 division. In this record he is given the titles *Chalukya-rāma* and *Āhavamalla* and described as *Satyāśraya-kula-tilaka*. This indicates the rise in his power and influence.

Being a shrewd politician Taila was biding his time for an opportunity to subvert the Rāshṭrakuṭa sovereignty and this came when Sīyaka II Harsha, the Paramāra ruler attacked Mānyakhēṭa in about 972 A. D. Though Mārasimha II, the Ganga chief succeeded in protecting the encampment of the emperor Khoṭṭiga from falling into the hands of Sīyaka Harsha, he could not prevent the fall of the Rāshṭrakuṭa power. Taila II hastened forth to set up his rule on the ruins of the Rāshṭrakuṭa empire. He succeeded in overthrowing Rāshṭrakuṭa Karka II in the year Śrīmukha, corresponding to 973 A. D. As the latest known date of Karka II is 973 A. D., June 25, Taila must have succeeded in founding his independent kingdom sometime after this date.

Taila had to struggle hard till 977 A. D. to assert his imperial position and establish himself firmly in the country. The Gangas who were till then the subordinates of the Rāshṭrakūṭas formed the bulk of the opposition. After Mārasimha's death there was a fight for succession. According to a Humcha record, Gōvindara was yet another brother of Mārasimha, besides Maru'adēva, Rājamalla and Vāsava, who claimed the Ganga throne, after his brother's death. The *Chāvuṇḍarāya-purāṇa* states that a certain Gōvindarasa opposed Chāvuṇḍarāya who, as a minister of Rāchamalla, son of Mārasimha, was supporting the claims of his master to the Ganga throne. The *Ajitapurāṇa* also refers to a Gōvindara who opposed Taila II. These evidently refer to one and the same person, Gōvindarasa, mentioned above. Gōvindara is obviously a short form of Gōvindarasa. But he failed in his attempts.

The next claimant was Pānchāladēva and he turned out to be a serious rival of Taila II too. The Chālukya records give Taila II the title *Pānchālamardana-panchānana* referring to his exploit of annihilating this western Ganga adversary. This shows that the subjugation of this chief was not an easy task. The latest date for Pānchāladēva is 975 A D Sometime afterwards, he seems to have lost his life in his struggle against Taila II This made the way clear also for Rāchamalla who ruled over Gangavāḍi till 985 A. D. After this date the Chōla king Rājarāja annexed the Gangavāḍi area, and the Gangas had now to accept a subordinate position under the Chōlas.

The year 973 A D was in many respects eventful in South Indian history. It saw the death of Sundara chōla of the Chōla country. The death of Kṛishna III had given the Chōlas an opportunity to recover themselves Sundara-chōla had succeeded in recovering the territories once lost to the Rāshtrakuṭas. Uttama-chōla who succeeded him had brought peace to the country. This king was succeeded, in 985 A D, by Rājarāja I. In Vengi, in 973 A D, Dānārṇava, the eastern Chālukya king, was slain in battle by the Telugu-Chōḍa chief Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma This Dānārṇava had ascended the throne after killing his half-brother Amma II in battle, and thereafter seized the Pottapi country. But, in the encounter that resulted he was killed by Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma who established himself in Vengi and ruled there till 999 A D The two sons of Dānārṇava, Śaktivarma and Vimalāditya, finally found shelter in the Chōla court. To Rājarāja-chōla this was a good excuse to take up the offensive against Vengi as a part of his expansionist campaign

The western Chālukyas, who succeeded the Rāshtrakuṭas, were claiming the areas once held by their predecessors. Consequently, Vengi continued to be a bone of contention between the rulers of the western Chālukya family and the Chōlas leading to several long-drawn-out battles between the two till Vengi was finally merged in the Chōla kingdom.

In 992 A. D. we find Taila II camping at Rodda, (modern Roddam in Anantapur district) in Noḷambavāḍi, after defeating Chōla Rājarāja and capturing from him one hundred and fifty elephants. Three years later, in 995, A. D, *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Āhavamalladēva i. e., Taila II's son, the prince Irivabeḍanga Satyāśraya, is seen proceeding towards the north against Utpala. From this we can conclude that after his victory over the Chōla in 992 A. D, Taila II appointed his son as the governor of the territory he conquered and that by 995 A. D. he had put down the Chōla menace in the south.

The king Utpala, mentioned above, was Munja, the adopted son of Siyaka II Harsha, whom he succeeded on the Paramāra throne This was a period when the rising powers in the south as well as in the north were following a policy of expansion in a scramble for sharing the erstwhile dominions of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire Eventually, Munja had to encounter opposition from Taila II, who was at war with him for a considerable time as is clear from the Sogal inscription of 980 A. D. According to Mērutunga's semi-historical work, the *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*, Taila II was defeated by Munja sixteen times, but in the final encounter the latter lost his life. Though the episode as narrated by Mērutunga reads like a legend, there is no doubt that Munja was finally defeated in the protracted Chālukya-Paramāra struggle and killed about 996 A. D. In this fight *mahāsāmanta* Bhillama of the Yādava dynasty aided his Chālukya overlord.

Taila II is said to have won a victory over Mūlarāja of Gujarat on the basis of the epithet *Gūrjara-bhayajvara* borne by him. Similarly, inscriptions speak of his victory over the kings of Chēdi and Nēpāla. Taila's success against Gūrjara appears to be an echo of the conquest of Lāṭa (southern Gujarat) by his general Bārapa. He might have also come into conflict with the Chēdis. But his victory over the king of Nēpāla is more a traditional eulogy than a fact. There is a suggestion that he defeated Śilāhāra Aparājita. This cannot be accepted,

for, we know that Aparājita was later defeated by his son **Satyāśraya** after he ascended the throne

Taila II ruled for 24 years from 973 A D to 997 A. D. He was an able warrior and overcame with determined effort the many obstacles strewn on his way to secure and stabilise his new kingdom. He bore the title *Āhavamalla*. Jākavve or Jakkaladēvī, daughter of a Rāshtrakuta chief Bhammaha was his queen. She bore him two sons, Satyāśraya and Daśavarma *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Daśavarmadēva who figures in a record from Kaṇōl dated 996 A D. is, in all probability, identical with Daśavarma, the younger son of Taila II

Irivabedanga Satyāśraya (997–1008 A. D)

Taila II was succeeded by his eldest son Satyāśraya who bore the titles *Āhavamalla, Akalavarsha, Sahasa-Bhima* and most prominent of all, *Irivabedanga* The earliest known date of this king from an epigraph is 1002 A D Even as a prince he had ably assisted his father in subduing the Chōlas and the Paramāras.

After defeating Paramāra Munja, Satyāśraya appears to have returned to the capital and soon thereafter assumed the regal powers Inscriptions of the Chōla king Rājarāja I state that he defeated Satyāśraya in a pitched battle and from out of the treasure that he captured, the temple at Tanjore was enriched. As is usual with the Chōla records, this is apparently a tall claim. However, it seems likely that taking the opportunity of Satyāśraya's engagements in the capital, the Chōla king invaded the southern territory and succeeded in taking Kēśava, the Chālukya general, a prisoner and killing in battle Daśavarma the king's younger brother. Ranna also seems to allude to this event when he says that Satyāśraya took revenge against a person who killed his younger brother

Meanwhile, in 999 A. D, Śaktivarma had ascended the Vengi throne after defeating and killing Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma on the

battle field, with the help of Rājarāja-chōla. Satyāśraya proceeded against Vengi early in 1005 A. D. But his attention was diverted by the Chōla who, with that purpose, sent a huge army under the command of his son Rājēndra. Consequently, Satyāśraya had to return from his expedition to face the Chōla army which advanced as far as Dōṇur in the Bijapur district. The enemy was easily driven out and his baggage wagons were captured. The Chālukya then sent his general Bāyal-nambi to Vengi. The latter proceeded upto Chēbrōlu in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh after burning the forts of Dharaṇikōṭa and Yanamadala.

In the west and the north, earlier, Satyāśraya had to wage battles against the Śilāhāras and the Paramāras. Ranna says that Satyāśraya defeated Aparāditya and burnt Aṁśunagara in Konkaṇ. This Aparāditya is identical with Śilāhāra Aparājita of northern Konkan, who had, during the life-time of Taila II, continued to hold an independent status. One of the foremost things that Satyāśraya had to do was to subdue this chief who ultimately accepted Chālukya suzerainty. Bārapa, the chief of a Chālukya family who had been ruling in Lāṭa (southern Gujarat) had been ousted by Chaulukya Mularāja. Satyāśraya, it appears, went to Lāṭa to set up Goggirāja, son of Bārapa. Padmagupta in his *Navasāhasānkacharita* refers to the conquest of Murāla by Sindhurāja, the Paramāra king who succeeded Munja. The identity of Murāla is not clear. But there is nothing to show that this affected the position of Satyāśraya.

Vikramāditya V and Ayyaṇa (1008–1015 A. D.)

The last known date for Satyāśraya is 1008 A. D., November 15. He was succeeded by his nephew Vikramāditya V, son of Daśavarma. The only notable event of his reign was the Chōla invasion. Probably having found Vikramāditya weaker than his uncle Rājēndra-chōla proceeded against him some time about the end of the former's reign. This we learn from the *Tirumaṇṇi vaḷara praśasti* of the Chōla king. However, we do not get

many details of this event. The Chōla invasion might have taken place in 1014 A. D. Even the Chōla could obviously achieve nothing.

The latest date known for Vikramāditya V is 1014 A D. December 23. He had two younger brothers Ayyaṇa and Jayasimha II. Records of later periods make a passing reference to the reign of Ayyaṇa. The earliest date known for Jayasimha is 1015 A. D. February 20 Ayyana, therefore, might have ruled for about two months between the two dates stated above This is substantiated by a piece of literary evidence noticed recently. In this work, entitled *Ayyaṇavamśa-charita-kavyam*, it is stated that Ayvana, the Chālukya prince, succeeded to the throne and that after a short rule of a few months, he abdicated the kingdom and retired from political life It may be noted that we have records to show that Jayasimha had actively participated in the affairs of administration even during the reign-period of his brother Vikramaditya V while there are no records of Ayyaṇa.

Jayasimha II (1015–1044 A D)

Jayasimha bore the title *Jagadēkamalla* used frequently in his records He also had the epithet *Mallikāmōda*. The two literary works-Rajavallabha's *Bhōjacharita* and Mērutunga's *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi* whose authenticity is not beyond question-relate the following story. By the clever machinations of Ḍāmara, an agent of the Chaulukya king Bhīma, the Paramāra king Bhōja led an invasion against Chālukya Jayasimha to avenge the defeat of Munja by Taila.

Though all the details of the story are not reliable there seems to be some truth in it. It appears that Bhōja formed a coalition with Gāngēyadēva, the Kalachuri king, and Chōla Rājēndra against Jayasimha These three kings invaded the Chālukya territory and a severe battle was fought on the banks of the Gautama Gangā, i. e. the river Gōdāvarī, when Jayasimha, in the language of an inscription "searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of the Mālava". If the

Tamil records are to be believed, it is perhaps at this juncture that Rājēndra burnt down the capital Mānyakhēta while Bhōja overran Konkana. The earliest reference to this battle is found in a record of 1019 A. D. The Banswara and Betma plates of Bhōja dated 1020 A D, state that the occasion for the grants made by the king was the conquest of Konkaṇa. Hence, Bhōja must have made inroads into the Konkana tract about this year But he could not hold the conquered territories for long. Soon after, Konkana was recaptured by Jayasiṁha, as seen from his Miraj grant dated 1024 A. D which avers that he was camping at Kolhāpur after having taken into possession the wealth of the lords of the seven Konkaṇas. In this he was ably assisted by his general *mahāprachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* Vāvaṇarasa who destroyed the fort of Pannāla, which is identified with Panhālā near Kolhapur

The above record states that Jayasiṁha was at Kolhāpur in the course of his campaign (*dig-vijaya*) towards the north, which was obviously directed against the Paramāra ruler who had encroached on the Chālukya frontiers. It is likely that during this campaign he also subdued Bhillama III of the Sēuṇa family, who tried to declare independence. Later on, Jayasiṁha gave his daughter Avvalladēvī in marriage to this chief who calls himself a *mahāsāmanti* in his Kalas Budrukh plates of 1025 A. D.

Barring these, Jayasiṁha was not involved in any other battle in the north. On the contrary, he was constantly coming into clash with the Chōla who was identifying himself with the affairs of Vengi. After Śaktivarma's death in 1011 A. D., his younger brother Vimalāditya ruled Vengi for about seven years. Though this ruler's son Rājarāja I succeeded his father in about 1018 A. D., there is evidence to show that his coronation was not celebrated till 1022 A. D. This was because of his step-brother Vijayāditya VII who, with the help of Jayasiṁha, was trying to oust Rājarāja I. Naturally, Rājarāja sought the help of his father-in-law, Rājēndra Chōḷa I, who sent his general Vikrama-

chōla-sōliyavarasa. About 1021 A D a pitched battle appears to have been fought at Muyangi which is Maski in Raichur district. The Chōla records as usual exaggerate when they declare that the Chōla king conquered Raṭṭapādi from Jayasiṁha who turned his back and fled

Though the Chālukya forces might have suffered some initial reverses, it is clear from his Miraj grant of 1024 A. D. that Jayasiṁha over-powered the Chōlas and drove them out. Some years later, about 1031 A D, Vijayāditya VII succeeded in expelling his step brother Rajarāja from Vengi and occupying the eastern Chālukya throne, with the help he received from Jayasiṁha II. *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vāvaṇarasa who again participated in this battle, seized the fort of Bezwada In the severe encounter that ensued, both the sides suffered serious losses No doubt, Jayasiṁha succeeded in crowning Vijayāditya But, this success was short lived, for, we find Rājarāja I once again, on the throne.

The latest known date for Jayasiṁha is 1043 A D, February 17 He was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēśvara I about 1044 A D Besides Suggaladēvi who was the chief queen, Jayasiṁha had two other queens viz, Dēvaladēvī of the Nolamba family and Lakshmādēvi Sōmēśvara I had a younger brother, also called Jayasiṁha, who bore the title *Samaraikamalla*, and two sisters Hammā or Avvalladevi and Sōmaladēvī

Kundamarasa, who was probably a son-in-law of Satyāśraya, and Akkādēvi, the sister of Jayasiṁha, were in charge of the administration of important divisions from the days of Satyāśraya. Kundamarasa who had married Pampādēvī, probably a daughter of Satyāśraya, was governing Banavāsi 12000 division. Akkādēvī had married Mayuravarma of the Kadamba family and these two were ruling over Kisukādu 70 and Pānumgal 500 divisions.

Sōmēśvara I (1044—1068 A. D.)

The period of Sōmēśvara's reign was one when south India turned into a veritable battlefield as it were between the

Chālukyas and the Chōlas with the Tungabhadrā doab and Vengi as the bones of contention The year 1044 A D saw the death of Chōla Rājēndra I who was succeeded by his son Rājādhirāja. The latter had, till then, right from 1018 A. D, been the *yuvarāja*. After ten years of his rule, he was succeeded by his younger brother Rājēndra II and later on by another brother Vīrarājēndra in about 1064 A D Thus, all these three Chōla kings were contemporaries of Sōmēśvara I

Soon after his accession Sōmēśvara launched a fresh attack upon Vengi, but was held up by the Chōla forces at Dannāḍa, i e., Amarāvati in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh. According to the Chōla version, in this battle Gandapayyan and Gangādharan, commanders of the Chalukya army were killed and others like Vikki and Vijayāditvan ran away, and after winning the battle Rājādhirāja set fire to the capital Kollippakkai (Kollipāke of the Kannada records) which has been identified with Kolanupāka, in the Nalgonda district It may be noted in this connection that the region of Kollipāke had been a part of the Chālukya dominions from an earlier period Of the persons mentioned above, Vikki has to be identified more reasonably with Vikkaya, a Telugu chieftain of Pudur, who was a vassal of Sōmēśvara I, and not with Vikramāditya VI Some of the details narrated above are obviously exaggerated as is usual with the Chōḷa records. However, there seems to be some truth in the Chōla account of this war which was later forced into the Chālukya dominions The Chōla troops marched into the Chālukya territory as far as Kollipāke, which was a secondary capital, but were checked at that point. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Singaṇadēvarasa who played a prominent part in saving Kollipāke was honoured by the Chālukya king with the title 'protector of Koḷlipāke'.

In 1045 A. D., we find Sōmēśvara I camping at Pūvinapadangile (Hūvina-Haḍagali in the Bellary district) after capturing Śivāpa, who might be one of the Chōla generals As a counter measure, desirous of subduing the chief of Nolambavāḍi

who was a Chālukya vassal, and annexing his territory, Rājādhirāja invaded that part of the country Chōla records once again proclaim in exaggerated terms that he burnt Kampili, penetrated into the Belvola country proceeded towards Puṇḍur and after razing it to ground attached Kalyāṇa which was burnt. We know from inscriptions that Sōmēśvara I installed Trailōkyamalla-Nanni-Nolamba as the governor of Nolambavādi in 1044 A D. From the Gāwarawāda inscription of Sōmēśvara II, dated 1072 A. D., it becomes clear that the Chōla king carried on war in the province of Belvola and demolished temples and religious structures before he "gave his live head in battle" to Sōmēśvara I From this it becomes apparent that Rājādhirāja proceeded against Nolambavādi, sometime after 1044 A D, when he achieved some initial successes Kalyāṇa became the principal Chālukya capital about 1048 A D. Sometime before this date, according to the Chōla records, that king might have raided the city and taken away, as a trophy, an image of *dvarapala* for being used in one of the temples in his own capital.

With all this, however, the Chōla failed to subjugate the Chālukya territory and gain ascendancy over the Chalukyas. The Chālukya records show that even the Tungabhadrā area was well under their control The Chōla incursions did not much affect the Chālukya dominions However, it may be noted in this context, that an account of his preoccupations in the north Sōmēśvara could not completely prevent the Chōla from gaining some initial victories

After a few years, Rājādhirāja once again proceeded against the Chālukya kingdom He was accompanied by his younger brother Rajēndra II The Maṇimangalam inscription of the latter says that when the Chōla king, desirous of war, had reached Irattamandalam, Ahavamallan met the enemy at Koppam, which is identified with Koppal in Raichur district. Rājādhirāja who invaded with a determined effort, appears to have succeeded in crossing the Tungabhadrā and penetrating into the Chālukya territory for a short distance. The Chōla advance was arrested

and in a pitched battle fought at Koppal, the Chālukya army, led by the king Sōmēśvara, concentrated its attention upon the Chōla king who was riding an elephant. First the animal was attacked with arrows and later on the Chōla king was pierced by them. Ultimately, Rājādhirāja fell down dead. Then, Rājēndra II, who was in the rear, rushed forward and took the lead of the Chōla army that was on its heels. With undaunted courage, he fought with the Chālukyas, who, according to the Tamil inscriptions, were defeated. Thereafter, Rājēndra proceeded upto Kolhāpur where he planted a pillar of victory.

The Chālukya records do not unduly glorify the achievements of their king as is done in the Chōla records. The inscriptions of the reign of Sōmēśvara I do not elaborately describe the battle of Koppam. They do, however, refer to the death of the Chōla king on the battlefield. The event was of such an importance that a temple, called Chōlam-goṇḍa-Traipurusha was built at Aṇṇigere, a provincial capital, to commemorate the event Two records dated 1064 and 1066 A. D., from Gadag and Navali respectively, give the cerdit of killing Rājādhirāja to Mārarasa or Māra-permāladēva. This chief is probably the same as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Permāla Mārarasa, an *ankakāra* of the Chālukya queen Mailaladēvī, who is given the title *Rājādhirāja-Chōlamgoṇḍa*. As noted above, the Gāwarawāḍa record refers to the death of the Chōla king on the battle field in the Chālukya territory.

The Chōla records, on their part, describe Rājādhirāja as *ānaimēl tuñjiyaruḷina Vijayarājēndradēva* (the king who expired on the back of the elephant) and thus admit that he died on the elephant back. It appears that Jayasiṁha, the younger brother of Sōmēśvara I, who also participated in this battle, died. According to the Tamil version of this battle, many other Chālukya generals like Pulakēsi, Daśapanman and Nanni Nolamba were also killed. But how far this is true cannot be said.

The Tamil records boast of the setting up of a pillar of victory at Kolhāpur by the Chōla king. This was earlier taken to be a fact by some scholars, because of the wrong identification of the place Koppam with Khidrāpur near Kolhāpur. But, it is now established beyond doubt that Koppam of the Tamil records is none other than Koppal mentioned above. So, the suggestion that he pursued the Chālukyas into the interior as far as Kolhāpur cannot be accepted. As for the outcome of the battle, it may be observed that though Rājēndra II could possibly recover from the immediate shock of the death of his brother on the battlefield, he had to turn back to his capital. This was a severe blow.

The battle of Koppam was fought sometime in the early months of 1054 A. D. Thereafter, on his way back Rājendra appears to have attacked the fort of Kumma'a in the Raichur district, which was a stronghold of the Hoysalas. Vinayāditya who ascended the Hoysala throne about 1047 A. D., accepted the suzerainty of the Chālukya king. He appears to have entered into a matrimonial alliance with Sōmēśvara who married Hoysaladēvī of the Hoysala family. When Rājēndra II marched against Kummata, Sōmēśvara I pursued him there and defeated and drove him out.

Rājēndra II who succeeded his brother on the throne and is said to have got himself anointed on the battlefield at Koppam boasts of having defeated Āhavamalla twice. While the first is the reference to the battle at Koppam, another battle is said to have been fought at Mudakkāru. Now, Sōmēśvara I appears to have proceeded on an expedition to the south in 1059 A. D. The Sūdi inscription of 1060 A. D. January 20, states that he was camping at Pūli after a victorious expedition to the southern region where he defeated the Chōla. This place may be identified with Hulihalli in Ranebennur taluk of the Dharwar district. Therefore, the second battle with Rājēndra II must have been fought sometime before the date of the above record, perhaps in the last quarter of 1059 A. D. Vīrarājēndra, the Chōla prince, assisted his elder brother in this battle.

The intention to have hold over the Vengi country led Sōmēśvara I to interfere in the affairs of Vengi, when in 1061 A. D. its ruler Rājarāja I passed away. The Chālukya king upheld the cause of Śaktivarma II, son of Vijayāditya VII, against the claims of Rājēndra Chōla, son of Rājarāja, who later on ascended the Chōla throne as Kulōttunga I. The statement in the Charāla plates of the Chōla king Vīrarājēndra, of 1069 A. D., that he had to reconquer Vengi and Kalinga countries which had been captured by his powerful enemies, coupled with the fact that Sōmēśvara II, the Chālukya prince, bore the title *Vengipuravarādhīśvara*, indicates that Sōmēśvara I succeeded, at least partly, in subjugating the Vengi country and installing Śaktivarma II on its throne

In about 1064 A. D. Vīrarājēndra succeeded his elder brother, elder on the Chōla throne. According to the Chōla *records*, soon after the coronation, he is said to have proceeded against Chālukya Sōmēśvara I, whom he met at Kuḍala Sangama in 1064 A D This was his third encounter against the Chālukya. According to the Tamil records, two more battles are said to have been fought by this king against Sōmēśvara I, the details of which, however, are vague and cannot be verified.

While thus Sōmēśvara's kingdom was being threatened by the Chōlas on the one side, his attention was constantly drawn by the other ruling powers in the north and the west. More powerful among the dynasties in the north was that of the Paramāras who were hereditary enemies of the Chālukyas. Bhōja, the Paramāra king, had by now grown old and his power was on the wane Sōmēśvara who was camping at Pannāḷa in 1050 A. D proceeded against Bhōja. In about 1051 A. D. he succeeded in capturing Māṇḍava and burning Dhārā, the Paramāra capital, with the assistance of his able generals *daṇḍanāyaka* Guṇḍamayya, *mahāsāmantādhipati* Nāgadēva and Madhusudana. Soon afterwards, Bhōja was again defeated by the allied forces of the Chaulukya king Bhīma I and the Kalachuri king Karṇa. Bhōja appears to have lost his life in this encounter.

Thereafter, there was a war of successin between Udayāditya and Jayasiṁha for the Paramāra throne. They sought the assistance of the Chōlas and the Chāļukyas respectively Vikramāditya VI, the Chāļukya prince, finally succeeded in reinstating Jayasiṁha on the Paramāra throne But the Nagpur *praśasti* of Udayāditya says that he became the king of Mālava after freeing the land from the hands of the Chēdi king Karṇa who, joined by the Karnāṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean. It thus appears that Jayasiṁha did not continue for a long time as the Paramara king

Besides the Paramāras, Sōmēśvara I had also to face Karṇa, the Kalachuri king, in battle A subordinate of the former, *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Sankarasa takes the credit for defeating the Gāngēya i. e Karṇa The Rewa stone inscription of this ruler, dated about 1049 A. D , poetically boasts that he seized the fortune of Kuntala Dhārāvarsha of the Nāgavaṁśi family, who was the king of Chakrakuṭa, is also said to have been defeated by Sōmēśvara's generals.

Besides these powers in the north, Sōmēśvara had also to subdue the recalcitrant vassals of the two Śilāhāra families of northern Konkaṇ and Karād, Mummuṇi and Mārasimha respectively, with the help of his able feudatories Shasṭhadēva of the Kadamba family of Goa and Rēvarasa of the Haihaya family. Yet another who tried to assert his freedom was the Sēuṇa chief Bhillama III, who was the brother-in-law of the Chāļukya king Though we find him suppressing Sōmēśvara's enemies later, he was himself occasionally attempting to declare independence. When, sometime before 1047 A. D. he made such an attempt, *daṇḍanāyaka, sēnādhipati* Nāgavarmayya of the Vāji family frustrated it.

Bilhaṇa says that Sōmēśvara I was seized with a severe fever and realising that his end was approaching, he voluntarily drowned himself in the Tungabhadrā. This is corroborated by a Belagāmi inscription which says that king Āhavamalla, master

of the world, put an end to his life in the same manner. This was on the 29th of March, 1068 A.D Thus ended the reign of a great king who, during his reign period of 25 years, carried on a series of wars by which he strengthened his kingdom and even extended it.

We know of eight wives of Sōmēśvara I, viz. Bāchaladēvī, Chandalakabbe, Mailaladēvī, Kētaladēvī, Līlādēvī, Lachchaladēvī, Hoysaladēvī and Chāmaladēvī. His three sons Sōmēśvara II Vikramāditya VI and Jayasiṁha IV were all born to Bāchaladēvī. Of these, the eldest, who bore the tiltle *Bhuvanaikamalla*, was in charge of the Belvola and Purige e districts from 1049 to 1054 A. D. He also bore the epithet *Vengipuravarēśvara*, probably because he participated in the campaigns of his father against Vengi. The second prince, Vikramāditya, was known by the title *Ganga-permānaḍi*, while the third prince, Jayasiṁha, was in charge of Tardavādi-nāḍu Sōmēśvara had also a daughter named Suggaladēvī who had been given in marriage to *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Singaṇadēvarasa.

Sōmēśvara II (*1068–1076 A. D.*)

Sōmēśvara I was succeeded by his son *Bhuvanaikamalla* Sōmēśvara II on the 11th of April, 1068 A. D Soon after his coronation this king had to proceed on a war. While he was busy assuming the reins of power, the Chōla king Vīrarājēndra, underestimating his opponent's might, laid siege to Gutti, but was badly defeated and had to flee. As this information is furnished by an inscription dated in the month of August, 1069 A. D., the battle must have been fought sometime before this date, which is only four months after the date of Sōmēśvara's coronation.

Thereafter, Sōmēśvara II proceeded towards the north to look into the affairs of the Paramāra kingdom. We have seen above that the Chālukya prince Vikramāditya VI had set up Jayasiṁha on the Paramāra throne. But Udayāditya, Jayasiṁha's rival, finally succeeded in throwing him out. In doing so he had to face an alliance of three powers, viz. Chālukya

Sōmēśvara II, Kalachuri Karṇa and Chaulukya Karṇa of Gujarat It was as a member of this alliance that Sōmēśvara proceeded towards the north However, these three powers suffered defeat at the hands of Udayāditya in a battle fought in 1070 A D Thus it was a fruitless expedition.

From the time of his accession to the throne Sōmēśvara II doubted the loyalty of his younger brother Vikramāditya VI. This prince was more capable and their father, Sōmēśvara I, had realised this when, according to Bilhaṇa, the court-poet of Vikramāditya VI, he conceived the idea of making him the heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*). But the prince declined the office which, of right, belonged to his elder brother This episode must have caused displeasure to the elder Though at the time of his father's death Vikramāditya was in the north helping Paramāra Jayasimha, he was in the know of the events that were occurring in the capital Soon after his accession Sōmēśvara II recalled his brother to the south and himself proceeded against Udayāditya, probably because he was suspicious of Vikramāditya who, he feared, would get the help of the northern powers to seize the throne. This and perhaps other circumstances resulted in straining their relationship

Bilhaṇa gives a detailed account of the activities of Vikramāditva VI after his recall from the north According to him, Vikramāditya with his younger brother Jayasimha, left the capital Kalyāṇa afraid of his own life and good name at the hands of his brother Sōmēśvara II But he was pursued by the imperial forces. However, the army was in no time defeated by Vikramāditya, who, having spent sometime thereafter on the banks of the Tungabhadrā, proceeded to Banavāsi, desirous of fighting the Chōla. From there he marched against Jayakēśi I, the Kadamba chief of Goa, who sued for peace and offered submission. After this, with the help of the Kadamba chief, he clashed with the Chōla king, Vīrarājēndra. This ruler, unable to withstand the enemy, extended the hand of friendship and gave his daughter in marriage to the Chālukya prince. This marriage,

might have taken place sometime before 1070 A. D when Sōmēśvara II was engaged in the war with the Paramāras.

Bilhaṇa further narrates Shortly afterwards, when Vikramāditya was tarrying on the Tungabhadrā, news reached him that his father-in-law was dead He had, therefore, to go to the Chōla capital where he put down the rebels. Proceeding to Gangākuṇḍa, the same as Gangaikoṇḍa-chōlapuram, he routed the enemies and finally secured the throne for his brother-in-law Adhirājēndra He then returned to the Tungabhadrā.

But Adhirājēndra did not rule for more than a week. He was succeeded by the eastern Chālukya prince Rājēndra II about the middle of 1070 A D., with the title *Rājakesari* and the name Kulōttunga I With his accession, Vengi became a part of the Chōla kingdom The matrimonial alliance entered into by Vikramāditya with the Chōla appears to have been actuated by the dual motive of strengthening himself against his brother with a view to securing the Chālukya throne and to prevent the succession of the eastern Chālukya prince Rājēndra II to the Chōla kingdom, which would be detrimental to the Chālukya supremacy For this purpose, he tried to interfere in the Chōla affairs by supporting the cause of Adhirājēndra But, as seen above, these diplomatic moves of Vikramāditya did not meet with success.

Meanwhile, between 1073 and 1076 A. D Sōmēśvara II was staying nearabout Banavāsi, making Bankāpura his second capital and "still not as active as he ought to have been, thus becoming neglectful of his duties", as the Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya VI describes. In the east, Vengi which had been the cause of many a battle, was finally lost to the Chōla in spite of Vikramāditya's attempts to prevent it. . In the north, Udayāditya, the Paramāra, had inflicted defeat on Sōmēśvara II. Left as they were, the affairs of the kingdom would have worsened.

Under these circumstances, Vikramāditya thought of assuming himself the powers of king in an effort to strengthen and expand the kingdom so ably built up by his predecessors. Some records

dated as early as 1071 A D. mention him as the ruling king without making any reference to Sōmēśvara II, thus probably indicating that he had made up his mind to take over the kingdom by that time itself. A clash between the two was, therefore, inevitable The younger succeeded Bilhaṇa says that he took the elder as a prisoner The Chōla king, Kulōttunga I who is said to have allied himself with Sōmēśvara II, had to flee. The Tamil records show that another battle was fought between Kulōttunga and Vikramādityа sometime before 1076 A. D. But strangely, none of these records mention Sōmēśvara II

In the conflict between the two brothers that was waging, the loyalty of the feudatories and subordinate officials was divided The Sēuṇa prince, Seunachandra II, the Hoysala chief Ereyanga, and Kīrtideva of the Kadamba family of Hāngal sided with Vikramāditya VI There was stiff opposition from the other side which had found staunch supporters in the feudatories like Chiddana chōla-mahārāja of the Telugu-chōla family and Kadamba Udayāditya, younger brother of Kīrtidēva who subdued some of the revolting feudatories that were backing up Vikramāditya *Mahamaṇḍalēśvara* Lakshmarasa, a prominent officer under Sōmēśvara II, rendered his master able assistance

The reign of Sōmēśvara II thus came to an end The latest date known for him is 1076 A D, December 23 He had two wives, Kanchaladēvi and Mailaladēvī

Vikramaditya VI (1077-1127 A D)

Necessitated by the political exigencies added to which was his personal ambition, Vikramāditya VI wrested the throne from his elder brother A Wadagēri inscription mentions gifts made by him, on the occasion of his *pattabandhotsava* or coronation ceremony Inscriptions cite different years for the commencement of his reign, Rākshasa, Nala or Pingala corresponding to c. 1075, 1076 and 1077 A. D. respectively, thereby indicating that there was a state of conflict and confusion. But his coronation ceremony took place actually on the first day of the bright half

of the month of Chaitra in the year Pingaḷa, corresponding to February 26, 1077 A. D.

From this date also commenced a new reckoning in his name, called the Chālukya-Vikrama era. In a beautiful verse, a Gadag inscription says that Vikramāditya set aside the Śaka era originated by foreign rulers and by counting a new era named after himself, he made his own name famous all over the world. The era was in use as long as he ruled and for nearly fifty years thereafter also. He set a model for his successors to count their regnal years in their own names. Thus, we find his successors Bhulōkamalla Sōmēśvara III and Jagadēkamalla II counting the years by their own names. But this practice lasted only during their life-time, in which period the Chālukya-Vikrama era also was being used. This new era slowly disappeared as the Chālukya power waned. The system of counting of years from the year of their accession continued even during the rule of the Kalachuri kings and the Sēuṇas thereafter, but ultimately the usage lost its importance.

By the time he ascended the throne, Vikramāditva VI had realised that Vengi had been lost to him. His contemporary on the Chōla throne, Kul ttunga, was as powerful as himself This Chōla king also had failed in his attempt to uphold the cause of Sōmēśvara II and thus prevent the accession of Vikramāditya. Both of them had gauged each other's capabilities and seen the futility of mutual hostilities. They must have then felt that the best course was to retain the *status quo* thenceforth and to give their country peace. Both the countries had waged a series of battles for almost a century without tangible results and their rulers now turned their attention more towards their subjects who needed the much desired peace.

Viewed thus, we find that the fifty years of rule of Vikramāditya VI was one of uninterrupted peace. It does not, however, mean that there were no disturbances at all. In fact, his younger brother and *yuvarāja*, Jayasiṁha was the first to raise the standard

of revolt against Vikramāditya's rule Jayasiṁha no doubt supported him earlier in ousting the elder brother. For this he was suitably rewarded by the new king who appointed him *yuvarāja*. During his father's life-time Jayasiṁha was the governor of Tardavāḍi division from 1064 A D When Sōmēśvara II came to the throne, Jayasiṁha became the governor of the two districts, Belvola 300 and Purigere 300, which area was generally under the administration of a prince or a member of the royal family. However, we find this prince governing several other provinces like Kōgaḷi 1000, Kundur 1000, and also Banavāsi 12000 and Sāntalige 1000 divisions when Vikramāditya VI commenced his rule. All this shows that Jayasiṁha was highly regarded by his elder brother and king who had in him great confidence.

The last date known of *yuvarāja* Jayasiṁha is 1082 A D., December 25, which is also the earliest date of *yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna, son of Vikramāditya. Sometime on or before this date, therefore, Jayasiṁha appears to have been removed from that office. Though epigraphy does not give us any reason for Jayasiṁha's removal from office, Bilhaṇa tells that it was due to that prince rising in revolt against his brother with a desire to seize the throne To this end, he started accumulating riches and strengthening his army. Thereafter, he sought the alliance of the Chōla king, Kulōttunga I Vikramāditya's warnings to his brother for his activities were all in vain. So, an encounter took place between the two brothers. Though Jayasiṁha met with initial success, he had finally to bow down before the might of Vikramāditya who took him prisoner Then he spoke kindly to him and soothed his fears This much we know from Bilhaṇa. But what happened to Jayasiṁha thereafter is not known

Thrice during his reign Vikramāditya invaded the Malwa country. Soon after his accession, in 1077 A. D., he proceeded against Paramāra Udayāditya probably to avenge the defeat his brother had suffered at the hands of that king We do not have many details of this expedition About ten years thereafter, for a second time, in 1088 A. D. Vikramāditya

invaded Malwa. The Raibag record dated 1089 A. D. states that the Chālukya king was returning from his expedition after defeating Udayin and burning the city of Dhārā where a pillar of victory is said to have been set up by him Udayin of this record is certainly Udayāditya, the Paramāra king. This record would suggest that Udayāditya was ruling at least till 1088 A. D. The reason for this expedition is not known. It may as well be that Vikramāditya upheld the claims of Jagaddēva, the son of Udayāditya, for the Paramāra throne, for which there was already a contest. Udayāditya appears to have lost his life in this encounter. Thereafter there was a struggle for succession among Jagaddēva, Lakshmadēva and Naravarma, the three sons of Udayāditya.

For a third time, about 1097 A D, Vikramāditya attacked Malwa In 1096 A D we find him in his military camp on the banks of the Narmadā, probably on his march against the Paramāra king. According to the Huṉasi-Hadagali epigraph, he was, in 1098 A. D, returning to his capital after destroying Dhārā and after an interview with Jajjugi Jagadēva. This latter is identical with Jagaddēva, the Paramāra prince, son of Udayāditya. This prince was greatly attached to Vikramāditya VI who loved and trusted him as his own dear son. In fact, he renounced his claim to the Paramāra kingdom before going to the court of Vikramāditya VI The Paramāra king then ruling was Naravarma

As a result of these expeditions against Malwa, the Chālukya king succeeded in conquering territories to the south of the Narmadā The existence of an undated inscription of Jagaddēva at Jainad in the Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh indicates that he was probably placed in charge of that area by Vikramāditya VI. This prince took an active part in several military campaigns of Vikramāditya VI.

Vikramāditya had also to subdue some of the recalcitrant chiefs. Goggi and Nāgavarma of Paive are two such chiefs who were subdued and made to pay tributes to the king. They were

put down by the king's brother Jayasiṁha and his officer Channarasa, in 1079 A D Another rebellious chief was Bhōja I of the Śilāhāra family of Karād. In 1089 A. D. after his second expedition to Malwa, the king gave battle to *maṇḍalika* Bhōja, same as Bhōja I. Again, by the end of 1100 A D we find the king camping on the Bhīmārathī river while proceeding to the west against Bhōja. This chief, it appears, had become a source of constant trouble and he could not be subdued till after 1100 A. D.

Records of Vikramāditya enumerate a list of countries, most of them in the north, conquered by him or by his feudatories. They are Maru, Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Magadha, Pānchāla, Nēpāla, Barbbara, Surāshṭra, Varāṭa, Lāṭa, Kāsmīra, Gūrjjara, Sindhu, Mālava, Turushka and the like. Of these, barring a few like Mālava and Lāṭa, he could not have even come into contact with the others. It is needless to say that such statements are poetic exaggerations.

Based on a story related in the *Kumārapālaprabandha* of Jinamaṇḍana that Permāḍi of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka sent an envoy to the court of Chaulukya Siddharāja, it has been thought that Vikramāditya VI came into conflict with this Gurjara king. But there is no other evidence to support this. Similarly, a Lakshmēśvara inscription of 1112 A. D. states that the Chālukya general Śrīpatiyarasa offered to the king great presents like elephants, white umbrellas and treasures which he brought from Ratnapura. This Ratnapura is probably the same as Ratanpur, the capital of a family of rulers of the Kalachuri house It is likely that the Chālukya general made an incursion into the Kalachuri territory in the course of one of the northern expeditions of Vikramāditya VI and gained success.

Though Vikramāditya was disappointed at the loss of Vengi, he did not give up his efforts to make his power felt in that area whenever an opportunity presented itself. After the death of Vijayāditya VII, in whose hands Kulōttunga I had entrusted the adminisrtation of that country after patching up his differences

with him, the Chōla king appointed his own son Mummaḍi Chōla as viceroy sometime in the middle of 1076 A D But this prince relinquished that office within a year and perhaps he did not even go to Vengi Thereafter for five years, from 1078 A. D, his brother Vīra Chōḍa held the office, followed by Rājarāja-Chōḍaganga, another prince, from 1084 A D For a second term Vīra Chōḍa was in that office between 1089 to 1093 A. D.

Vikramāditya appears to have taken advantage of the weak rule and absence of the viceroys from the province to invade and occupy that area As a result of this, we find Tondaya-chōla-mahārāja and *dandanāyaka* Chiddarasa of the Telugu-Chōla family ruling Kollipāke division as feudatories of Vikramāditya respectively in 1087 and 1098 A D In about 1118 A. D. Kulōttunga I recalled his son Vikrama-chōla from Vengi to make him heir-apparent. According to the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva, the land of Vengi once again fell into a state of anarchy when Vikrama-chōla went to rule the Chōla kingdom. This shows that during the last years of Kulōttunga, Vengi had been lost by him Though Kulōttunga's inscriptions are found in and around Drākshārāma till his 49th year, corresponding to about 1119 A. D., their absence thereafter indicates that the coastal Vengi country was lost by the Chōlas.

It appears that, much earlier, the Kollipāke 7000 division to the west, had passed into the hands of Vikramāditya whose records are found in greater number even in the coastal area from his 45th year of rule In 1116 A D. we find Anantapāla, the general of Vikramāditya, governing the region around Guṇṭur. He continued to govern the territory till at least the end of Vikramāditya's rule. Thus we find the Chālukya king slowly gaining control over the Vengi country By 1120 A. D. he apparently succeeded in bringing it completely under his suzerainty. At last he realised the long cherished desire of occupying the east coast. Truly did Vikramāditya's empire stretch between the two seas from west to east before the end of his reign.

The last years of the rule of Vikramāditya witnessed the revolt of some of his feudatories in the south-west and though he could humble them, the rebels continued to bide their time to strike at an opportune moment Erevanga, the son of Hoysala Vinayāditya, had been a faithful subordinate of Vikramāditya and, like his father, had help d his leige-lord in the battles he waged against Kulōttunga I for seizing from the latter the Vengi country. Perhaps, while thus engaged, Ereyanga once attacked even Chakraku a, the famous fort of Bastar in Madhya Pradesh

With Ballāla I who succeeded Erevanga, the relations between the Chālukyas and the Hoysalas became strained Ballāla, who inherited a fairly big territory comprising of Konkana, Bayalnād, Sāvimale and Ālvakhēda, now thought of independence The comparatively peaceful reign of Vikramāditya appears to have made Ballāla feel that his overlord was docile. Added to this was his own ambition to be independent and to expand his territories Vikramāditya obviously noticed the growing power and also the changing attitude of this chief He therefore appears to have sent the Paramāra prince Jagaddêva, who was then staying in Kolanupāka as a subordinate, to the south about 1100 A D, to curb the Hoysala power But, aided by his brother Vishnuvardhana, Ballāla succeeded in driving cut the Paramāra from his territories.

This appears to have encouraged Ballāla to proceed against other neighbouring chieftains who owed alligiance to Vikramāditya. The Chengālvas, ruling the areas around the modern Coorg and Mysore districts became the victims of his onslaught. Thereafter, the Pāndyas of Uchchangi were forced to accept the Hoysala suzerainty Then he overran the territory to the north and west of the Tungabhadrā, whereafter he crossed the river to occupy the Belvola country. Enraged by the open violation of his authority, Vikramāditya now sent his trusted feudatory, Āchugi II of the Sinda family, against Ballāla. In a severe engagement that followed, the Hoysala was defeated and driven back to his capital. He was thus forced to accept the Chālukya suzerainty till his death.

Within five years of his accession, Vishṇuvardhana seized the Gangavāḍi province extending right upto Talakād and Nīlagiri. Though this victory over Chōla Kulōttunga I pleased the Chālukya, the later events like his defeating the chiefs of Nidugal and Henjēru and the victory over the Ālupas greatly disturbed Vikramaditya He sent an army of *maṇḍalēśvaras* and *samantas* against Vishṇuvardhana In this battle fought at Kannegāl in about 1117–18 A D Gangarāja, the Hoysala general, vanquished the imperial army which is said to have suffered great losses in stores and vehicles Though the battle did not possibly result in any territorial gain for the Hoysala, it provided him much needed encouragement to proceed further. Vishṇuvardhana then invaded the territories of the Kadambas of Hāngal, took the town of Ballāri crossing the Tungabhadrā captured the fort of Kummaṭa which in the meanwhile, had probably been lost Thereafter, he occupied the Belvola country right up to the Malaprabhā river. By such actions the Hoysala turned his erstwhile sympathisers like the Kadambas of Hangal and Goa, into bitter enemies and offended the Sinda chief by a raid into his territory

It was now easy for Vikramāditya to bring together all those chiefs who had been antagonised by Vishṇuvardhana for a joint venture against the Hoysala. By now he had also freed himself from his affairs in the north and the east He therefore appears to have personally led the army against the Hoysalas In two great battles fought at Halasūru in Shimoga district and Hosavīḍu in Mysore district the Chālukya army gained a decisive victory over Vishṇuvardhana in about 1122 A D The Hoysala was dispossessed of the newly acquired territory

After a long rule of fifty years Vikramāditya passed away early in 1127 A D. He has left behind a large number of inscrip tions which give us useful information about the various aspects of life of the people in that period. Bilhaṇa says of him that he revived *Rāmarājya*. Vijnānēśvara, the law-giver of the Chālukya court, exclaims in hyperbolic terms that there existed neither in the past or present, nor would there be in the future, a city like Kalyāṇa, and that a king like Vikramāditya was neither seen nor

heard of. A similar sentiment is expressed in an inscription from Aland which affirms that under the beneficial rule of this monarch, the Kali (iron) age was transformed into Kṛita (golden) age.

About a dozen wives and four sons of Vikramāditya are known to us from his inscriptions. Queen Chandaladēvi was the mother of Sōmēśvara III, Jayakarna and Tailapa. Mallikārjuna who figures as *yuvarāja* governing the Taidavāḍi country and the Karahada 4000 division also was probably a son of Chandaladēvī. She was a princess of the Śilāhāra family of Karahada, who wooed the Chālukya king in a *svayamvara* as described by Bilhaṇa. She is known from a number of records as a lady of exceptional accomplishments. The epithets *Nṛitya-vidyādhari*, *Abhinava-Sarasvati* or *Abhinava-Śāradā*, ascribed to her appear to be more factual than formal, indicative of her proficiency in music, dancing and other fine arts. Among the other queens, mention may be made of Kētaladēvī, Malayamatidevī, Padmaladēvī, and Jākaladēvī who followed the Jaina faith. Some of them were good administrators.

Sōmēśvara III (*1127-1139 A. D.*)

Sōmēśvara III succeeded his father in 1127 A. D. His coronation took place on the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna in the year Parābhava, corresponding to the 20th February, 1127 A. D. On this occasion he made a grant of land to Nannaya-bhaṭṭa, an astrologer who had calculated an auspicious date for the king's expedition on Kārttika śu 9, of Parābhava, corresponding to 1126 A. D., October 26. It appears, Sōmēśvara III proceeded on a military expedition on the latter date and the coronation took place later on in 1127 A. D.

The death of Vikramāditya provided an opportunity for the Chōla king Vikrama-chōla, to regain the lost territory in the western part of Vengi. We find one of the Chōla subordinates, *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Nambaya, governing the Kollipāke region in 1127 A. D. But the northern areas of the coastal

territory still continued to be under the Chālukya hold. On behalf of the Chōlas, Gonka II, the Velanāḍu chief, seems to have proceeded against the Chālukya officers who were placed in southern Vengi We find that by about 1130 A D. the Velanāḍu chiefs, who were subordinates of Vikrama-chōla, were governing this area. Efforts made by the Chālukya generals to defend the tract did not obviously succeed

In the south, Hoyasala Vishnuvardhana who had burnt his fingers in a trial of strength against Vikramāditya VI, was constrained to accept the suzerainty of Sōmēśvara III. But he was growing restive and could not remain subdued for long. Some time later in 1135 A. D., he again proceeded against the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi In a record of 1136 A. D. he claims to have captured Uchchangi and also to have seized the Banavāsi and Hāngal regions. But he could not permanantly hold these areas

Sōmēśvara mostly led a peaceful life in the capital Kalyāṇa. He was in Jayantīpura (i e Banavāsi) in December 1127 A. D. and in March 1128 A D , we find him camping at Navileyakuppa which is Navali in Raichur district. In the next year, in February 1129 A. D. he was at Hulluṇiya-tīrtha, on a *digvijaya* in the south. There is no reference to any conquests of the king during this expedition, though it is likely that it was intended to fight the Hoysalas. This Hulluṇi and another, Pinjārasanga-mada-kuppa where we find him encamped in 1132 A. D., cannot be identified.

Barring these few movements we find the king mostly in the capital, an indication of the peace that obtained in his reign. This gave this scholar-king time to compile *Mānasōllāsa* or *Abhilashitārtha-chintāmaṇi*, an encyclopaedia of grrat value The king, because of such scholarly pursuits, earned the appellation *Sarvajna-chakravarti*. Sōmēśvara III had two sons Jagadēkamalla II and Taila or Tailapa III, born to Ekkaladēvī. Barmaladēvī was his second queen.

Jagadēkamalla II (1139–1149 A. D.)

Jagadēkamalla II succeeded his father in about 1139 A. D. We do not know his personal name. The inscriptions style him 'Perma' and associate him with the title *Pratāpa-chakravarti*. The earliest known date for this king is 1139 A D. November 7. There is a record of his predecessor, dated 1139 A. D. December 24, which probably indicates that Bhulōkamalla lived for a short time after the accession of his son to the throne

For all outward appearances the new king continued to hold the kingdom in tact though already a great portion of Vengi had slipped away from his hands. The Kākatīya feudatory Prōla II had strengthened his power Bhulōkamalla's death let loose the forces of disintegration in the kingdom and there was a scramble for power among the several chiefs of the Āndhra country. But the existence of Bhulōkamalla's record in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh indicates that they had, at least nominally, accepted his suzerainty.

The tendency to ignore the Chālukya suzerainty was seen among the Kadambas of Goa who by now had declared their independence The Konkaṇa and Palasige territories were practically lost by the Chālukyas though in a few records of Jayakēśi II we find nominal reference to the rule of Jagadēkamalla II These Kadambas, like those of Hāngal, had become victims of attacks by the Hoysalas. From 1135 A. D. Mallikārjuna, the Kadamba chief of Hāngal, had withstood the onslaughts of Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana who seems to have for a short while seized Hāngal But the death of Sōmēśvara III marked the beginning of the rise of Vishṇuvardhana's power.

By 1139 A. D. the Hoysala again captured Hāngal and also Bankāpura, and claimed to be ruling over Banavāsi 12000 and Hāngal 500 divisions Thereafter he proceeded towards Lakkuṇdi near Gadag in Dharwar district, which he had earlier attacked, but failed to capture. However, Jagadēkamalla II,

did not allow Vishṇuvardhana to retain the areas which he had forcibly snatched *Daṇḍanāyaka* Barmadēvayya, the capable general of the king, assisted by his brother *Daṇḍanāyaka* Mādhava and others, recovered the areas after defeating Vishṇuvardhana in about 1143 A D. in a fierce battle. These officers of the king thereupon also subdued the Kadambas of Goa. Thus, during the last years of his reign Jagadēkamalla had the satisfaction of restoring the lost prestige of the family.

At this time, however, the Kalachuris were rising in power. The Kalachuris of Karnātaka who were feudatory chiefs, had earlier settled down in Tarikāḍu-nāḍu and had Mangalavēḍhe as their capital Jōgama of this family had given his daughter Sāvaladēvī in marriage to Vikramāditya VI and Jogama's son Permāḍi had married a daughter of Chandaladēvī, the mother of Sōmēśvara III Bijjala II, son of Permāḍi, was thus a nephew of Sōmēśvara III Even during Sōmēśvara's time, Permāḍi had gradually given up calling himself a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and had started to count his own regnal years Bijjala went a step further. In 1142 A D we find him governing Karahaḍa 4000 division. Five years later in 1147 A D he was in charge of Tardavāḍi 1000 division. These incidents sufficiently indicate the growing power of this Kalachuri chief. The idea of an independent kingdom, originated by his father, now takes a definite shape. Trailōkyamalla Taila III who succeeded his elder brother, was younger in age than Bijjala who had already served under two kings, Sōmēśvara III and Jagadēkamalla II He therefore found it convenient to overlook the young king and proclaim himself the sovereign.

Taila III (1149–1162 A D.)

After Jagadēkamalla II, his younger brother Taila III ascended the throne. His earliest records are dated in the first regnal year, corresponding to 1151 A.D. But there are other records of the same date, which state that it was his third year of rule. This, therefore, shows that he commenced his rule in 1149 A. D.

In one record, the king is introduced with the unfamiliar title *Chālukya-chakravarti-Rakkasaganga* He is well known by the more popular title *Trailōkyamalla*. He had other titles also like *Tribhuvanamalla* and *Tribhuvanamalla Viragangi*.

This king's accession to the throne fanned the ambition of **Kalachuri** Bijjala to assert his independence As already noted he was slowly gathering strength, and within a few years of Taila's accession, as early as in 1153 A D, he began to proclaim his own rule The Chikkalagi record of 1157 A.D is dated the fifth year of Bijjala, and it does not refer to the rule of Taila On the other hand, we find him here assuming the imperial title Within five years from the date of this record Bijjala succeeded in displacing Taila.

In this connection it is worthly to note that though about fifty records of Taila have been found so far, almost all of them are confined to the central parts of the kingdom and to the Banavāsi region which was the mainstay of the Chālukyas.

The records of the Śilāhāras, the Kākatīyas and the Hoysalas indicate that they had already asserted their independence For example, the Ekkambi record of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya of Karād does not refer to his overlord Taila III. Nor did Hoysala Narasimha I let go the opportunity of recovering his lost territory Far from accepting the suzerainty of Taila III, the Hoysala king helped Ekkalarasa, the Ganga chief of Uddhare, who was attacked by the Chālukya general *daṇḍanāyaka* Mahādēvarasa in 1152 A D In this expedition Hoysala Narasimha went as far as Banavāsi after a fight with the forces of Mahādēvarasa

But a more formidable foe of the Chālukya was Kākatīya Rudradēva. The Anmakoṇḍa inscription of 1163 A. D. of this chief, states that Taila III died of disease due to the fright of Rudra. As the latest date of Taila III falls in the middle of 1162 A. D., he appears to have died about the end of that year.

This was also the year when Bijjala finally declared himself as the sovereign of the entire Chālukya kingdom. The Harasūr and Kālagi records of Bijjala's son Sōvidēva dated 1172-73 A. D., state in clear terms that this usurper put to death several members of the royal family of the Chālukyas It would not be surprising if Taila III was one of them.

Sōmēśvara IV (1158–1198 A D)

But before his death, Taila III, viewing with concern the growing menace to his kingdom, had appointed, some time in about 1158 A D, his son Tribhuvanamalla Sōmēśvara IV as his successor and invested him with sovereign powers. But this prince, with probably two other princes of the family, fled to a safe place to escape from the hands of Bijjala who was succeeding in his aggressive plans Records in the Anantapur, Bellary and Chitradurga districts show that Sōmēśvara IV, Jagadēkamalla III and Bhulōkamalla II were ruling in that area. This was the region of their loyal feudatories, the Nidugal Chōlas, the Pāndyas of Uchchangi and the Sīntaras We do not know in what way the two princes, Jagadēkamalla and Bhulōkamalla were related to Taila III. Probably, they were also sons of Taila III who, having foreseen the danger from the Kalachuri usurper, had sent them to the courts of his trustworthy chiefs.

Within a short time, the Kalachuris usurped the Chālukya throne and the members of the dispossessed family had to seek shelter in favourable quarters. For a period of about twenty years thereafter till 1183 A. D., Sōmēśvara IV had to bide his time. The earliest record of this king after this gap, is dated 1184 A. D, April 25. This is said to be the 3rd regnal year of the king in some records, while in others it is mentioned as the 2nd regnal year This would mean that he commenced his rule sometime in 1182 or 1183 A. D.

The Kalachuris who usurped the Chālukya throne could not hold it for long. By 1175 A. D. there was discontent among the

Kalachuri generals, some of whom withdrew their support and made strenous attempts to bring back the Chālukyas to power One such was Brahma or Bammarasa He was the son of Kāvaṇa-daṇḍanātha who was the loyal army-commander of the Kalachuri king Bijjala But the son later gave up his allegiance to the Kalachuris and upheld the cause of the Chālukyas. This was apparently due to the unpopularity of Kalachuri rule, which disillusioned the supporters of the kings of that family.

Brahma later on took over the command of the Chālukya army while his father continued as the commander of the forces of Kalachuri Sankama It was a strange sight when the father and the son met on the battle field as foes The father perhaps achieved initial victory, for, he assumes the title *Kalachurya-rajya-samuddharaṇa* But he could not arrest the fall of the Kalachuris. Soon afterwards, general Brahma succeeded in enlisting the support of several of his colleagues, all of whom with united efforts overthrew the Kalachuris some time before 1183 A D Tējimayya and Śrīdhara were two other generals that fought on behalf of Sōmēśvara IV. General Brahma assumed the titles, 'fire to the Kalachuri race' and 'establisher of the Chālukya kingdom', indicative of the part played by him in restoring the Chālukva power His younger brother Narasimha is credited with the slaying of the Kalachuri prince Sankama, son of Bijjala II

Thus by 1183 A D Sōmēśvara IV recovered the Chālukya kingdom. But it was only the last glow of a dying lamp. It may be noted that though his sovereignty was re-established it was only nominal and his power was confined only to the southern parts of the kingdom In the north the Sēuṇa king Bhillama V defeated Bijjala III, son of Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva The Kalachuris could not stand the Sēuṇa onslaughts. In the south the Hoysalas were similarly extending their territories northward. These ruling powers on both sides knew that the restored Chālukya ruler was not capable of resisting their attacks. In fact, the Chālukya

king does not appear to have taken possession of Kalyaṇa at all. Within a short period, it fell into the hands of Bhillama. Though a few records refer to the city as the Chālukya capital, such a reference was only conventional. Sōmēśvara IV ruled only from Jayantīpura i e Banavāsi Rebbaladēvi was the queen of Sōmēśvara IV

According to a Sēuna record of 1189 A D., Bhillama came to occupy the whole Chālukya kingdom by then The records of Hoysala Ballāla II specifically state that the general Brahma who had deprived the Kalachuris of their kingdom, was himself defeated by the Hoysala This was a decisive blow to the Chalukya rule The last known date of Sōmēśvara IV is 1198 A D. It may however be noted that there are two records of the Kadamba chiefs of Goa, dated 1207 and 1215 A D, which refer to the rule of Sōmēśvara IV. This reference appears to be only nominal. By this time the Chālukyas had lost all their power and territory The Kadamba chiefs expressed allegiance to the Chālukya indicating their reluctance to accept the suzerainty of any other power With Sōmeśvara IV the Chālukyas vanish from the scene.

Extent of the kingdom

At the zenith of its power the Later Chālukya empire spread upto Vidarbha in the north. A major portion of Vengi in the east, comprising the coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh from Visakhapatnam district in the north-east to Guntur district, formed a part of the Chālukya kingdom under the rule of its able monarchs Sōmēśvara I and Vikramāditya VI. Though the Chōlas tried to extend their sway beyond the Tungabhadrā, they not only failed in this endeavour, but also had to give up the territories which they had occupied in Shimoga, Chitradurga and parts of Tumkur and Chikmagalur districts in Mysore State. Almost all the western districts of Andhra Pradesh from Anantapur to Adilabad came under the control of the Chālukyas. To the west the Arabian sea was the natural boundary. Thus, the Chālukya kingdom spread into the modern States of

Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Mysore. This is vouched by a large number of inscriptions found in these areas.

The Capital

When Taila II commenced his rule, Malkhēd which was the the capital of the Rāshtrakūtas, continued to be his capital also Thereafter, for nearly fifty years it was the Chālukya capital Soon after his accession, Jayasimha might have found that Mānyakhēta was not centrally situated as the capital of the expanding empire We have seen that Mānyakhēṭa was threatened by the Chōla king Rājēndra who claims to have burnt it about 1019 A D Hence, the Chālukya king seems to have decided to find a new capital. In a record of that year, Etagiri, modern Yādgir in Gulbarga district, is described as the capital In 1033 A D Pottalakere, identified with Patancheru in Medak district of Andhra Pradesh, figures as the Chālukya capital It is so referred to also in a record of 1043 A D

We have three records of Jayasimha dated 1033 A D. which mention Kalyāna as the capital On grounds of palaeography their genuineness is questioned though they fall in the reign period of Jayasimha But this reference cannot be brushed aside as spurious It is of interest to note that Poṭṭalakere also figures as the capital in other records of the same year, viz. 1033 A D. This indicates that Jayasimha had not yet decided upon Kalyāṇa as the capital and was simply experimenting with several places But we now know that definitely by 1048 A D Kalyāṇa had become the capital. Obviously, it was left for Somēśvara I to take a final decision about the Chālukya capital. Thus, the credit of founding the Chālukya capital goes to Sōmēśvara I though his father had already thought of it as a suitable place.

The Kalachuris of Karnataka
(1162–1184 A. D.)

The Kalachuris, who overthrew the Later Chālukyas and seized the throne, were originally subordinates of the Chālukyas Unlike the other dynasties of Karnataka, the part played by the

members of this family as rulers of the dominions of the Chālukyas was more disruptive than constructive. Within a short period of about twenty years, six princes of this family ruled the kingdom. Three times anarchy reigned as a result of wars of succession among the princes of the family. This was the period when the country witnessed political, social and religious revolutions.

Origin

The Kalachuris of Karnataka were the descendants of the main family of Katachchuris who ruled in central India. They claim descent from Yadu of the Purāṇas who was the son of Yayāti. In the family of Yadu was born Sahasrajit, to whose lineage belonged the king Haihaya. This prince is the founder of several Haihaya families of central India. The city of Māhishmati on the bank of the Narmadā was the capital of the Haihayas. The Kalachuri families, earlier or later, who belonged to the Haihaya lineage, ruled in central India and parts of Uttar Pradesh at different periods between the 6th and the 13th centuries. The Katachchuris are the earliest rulers of the stock, who in the 6th–7th centuries A. D. held sway over a considerably vast area in the north, comprising Malwa, Gujarat, Konkaṇ and Maharashtra. They were contemporaries of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. Buddharāja of this family was one of the kings defeated by Mangalēśa. He was son of Śankaragaṇa and grandson of Kṛishṇarāja. After this defeat, the Kaṭachchuri empire collapsed, but the family survived.

During the 8th century, the Kaṭachchuris had settled in Kālanjara-maṇḍala with Kālanjarapura as their capital. Subsequently, they had to migrate from that place in consequence of the onslaughts of the Pratīhāras of the north and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the south. Kālanjarapura is identified with the fort of Kālanjara in the Banda district of Bundelkhand. After about one or two centuries, several branches of this family, with the modified appellation Kalachuri, appear on the political scene. Of these, the Kalachuris of Tripuri, modern Tewar near Jabalpur, were

powerful and famous. The Kalachuris of Gōrakhpur also called the Kalachuris of Sarayūpāra and the Kalachuris of Ratanpur or Tummāṇ belong to the same stock. Of the members of this stock who migrated from central India about the 9th century, some came to Karnataka also and there they slowly established themselves and gained some political status

There is enough evidence to show that the Kalachuris of Karnataka belonged to the Katachchuri stock of central India. The epithet *Kālanjara-puravaradhīśvara* assumed by them, substantiates the above account of their origin Their banner was that of *Suvarṇa-Vṛishabha*, (golden bull, emblem of god Śiva), indicating their devotion to Śiva whom the members of the family worshipped It may be noted that the Kalachuris of Gōrakhapur and Tripuri had the insignia of Nandi for their seals. In fact, as indicated by the relevant references and statements in their records, the Kalachuris of Karnataka remembered the glory of their forefathers who were great rulers of central India.

Inscriptions clearly relate that the early members of this family settled down in Tarikādu-nāḍu and had Mangalivēḍa, modern Mangalavēdhe in Sholapur district as their capital. There are some discrepancies in the genealogical accounts of the family as narrated in different epigraphs An examination of the records show that the Kalachuris who came to Karnataka could not gain much power till the time of Uchita in the 10th century He is the first important member of the family

Bijjala I and Karṇa

Bijja or Bijjala I, a later member of this family was a feudatory of Chālukya Sōmēśvara I He is described in a record of 1057 A D. as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* governing the area around Mangalivēḍa which figures as his capital Ten years later, in 1067 A. D. we find Karṇa, Kannama or Krishṇarāja, son of Bijjala I, ruling the area from the same capital. This chief is eulogised as victorious in fifty battles and is said to have freed his capital Mangalivēḍa from the enemies after killing

twelve chiefs It may be surmised from this that this chief participated in the battles fought by his master Sōmēśvara I against the powers of the north and the south like the Paramāras, the Eastern Chālukyas and the Chōlas.

Jōgama (c 1080–1118 A D)

Jōgama was the son of Karna or Kannama. Like his father, Jōgama also served the Chālukyas faithfully and governed Tarikāḍu-nāḍu with Mangalivēda as his capital We learn from inscriptions that he was governing the Karahaḍa-nāḍu division as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI from 1087 A D. which is his earliest known date He had a daughter named Sāvaladēvī from his wife Tārādēvī She was given in marriage to Vikramāditya VI The fact that Vikramāditya VI entered into matrimonial alliance with the Kalachuri chief indicates the prominent position Jōgama had held in the northern area of the Chālukya empire. We may assume that he was in power from about 1080 A. D. and probably died in about 1118 A. D. which is the earliest known date of his son Permāḍi.

Permāḍi (c. 1118–1130 A D)

Permāḍi does not appear to have been a great warrior like his father. Still, his influence in the Chālukya court had been on the increase. We have seen that Vikramāditya VI was his brother-in-law. In about 1127 A. D., Bhulōkamalla Sōmēśvara III succeeded his father on the Chālukya throne. To him Permāḍi was an uncle, probably senior in age. Further, there appears to have been closer relationship between the two. For, from the Valasang inscription of Jagadēkamalla II, dated 1142 A.D. we learn that Chandaladēvī, the queen of Vikramāditya VI, was the grandmother (*muttabbe*) of Permāḍi's son Bijjala II. Obviously, this queen must have had a daughter who was given in marriage to Permāḍi, Bijjala II being a son born of this princess.

This relationship not only strengthened the intimacy between the Chālukya king and the Kalachuri chief, but also encouraged the

latter to take undue advantage of his position in the political affairs. Hence, we find the Kalachuri chief adopting an attitude of independence. This becomes apparent from the Tadalabāgi inscription of this chief This record is dated the 12th year of Hermādidēva i. e. Permādi, corresponding to 1129 A. D. On this date Sōmēśvara III was the reigning king But the record does not mention the suzerain, nor does it describe Permādi as a feudatory Added to this is the fact that it is dated in the regnal year not of the king but of Permādi. This clearly indicates the gradual growth of the power of the Kalachuris.

Bijjala II (c. 1130-1168 A D.)

Bijjala II succeeded his father sometime before 1136 A. D which is the earliest date of this chief as known from the Tambur inscription But he appears to have been active even a decade earlier as is indicated by an undated epigraph from Balgēri belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya VI He did not let go the opportunity of seizing power Conditions had also gradually favoured him. Jagadēkamalla II succeeded his father on the Chālukya throne in about 1139 A. D This king must have been a few years senior to Bijjala II who was the nephew of Sōmēśvara III, for the Muttagi inscription of Jagadēkamalla II dated 1147 A. D. refers to Bijjala as *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kumāra Bijjaladēvarasa*. Bijjala figures as a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in the Tambur inscription of 1136 A. D, mentioned above. Therein he is referred to as Tarikāḍa Bijjala. In the Valasang record dated 1142 A. D. he is found governing Karahaḍa 4000 division. Five years later, in 1147 A D we find him governing Tardavāḍi 1000 division which was administered by him later in 1151 A. D. also.

But then Jagadēkamalla II had passed away, and he was succeeded by his younger brother Trailōkyamalla Taila III in 1149 A. D. Bijjala had already witnessed the rule of two kings, his uncle Sōmēśvara III, and the latter's son Jagadēkamalla II. He was senior in age to Taila III. The idea of independence had already been sown by Bijjala's father. Therefore, we now

see a definite desire in Bijjala to overthrow Chālukya suzerainty and declare independence. The forefathers of his family had been sovereign rulers. Only the weakness of the later members had made them *maṇḍalikas* (i e feudatories) and subordinates. "But now I have become strong Why should I still remain a feudatory?" It is this ambition, so daringly expressed in his inscriptions, that made Bijjala gradually gather more and more power to finally overthrow the sovereign and become king.

The inscriptions by themselves reveal to us the steps he took to usurp power Tacitly, he first dropped the title *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* which was indicative of subordination. Later, he gave up the practice of referring to the rule of the overlord. Then he started using the sovereign titles like *Bhujabalamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, Bhuvanaikavīra and Bhujabala-Chakravarti* Next came the idea of counting his own years of rule By these methods Bijjala prepared himself to assume sovereignty. From 1153 A D. itself we find him declaring his independent rule, though Taila III was the rightful ruler

Bijjala gathered on his side a good many Chālukya subordinates and feudatory chiefs and expanded his sphere of sway and territorial possession. In one of his records it is stated that just as Agastya who was born in a pot, gulped the sea, Bijjala-nṛipa who was born as the chief of a small tract, ultimately became the lord of the universe by his prowess. Another inscription describes that he first subdued the petty chiefs, then, the more powerful feudatories of the king were defeated and finally he uprooted his suzerain and himself became the king. This, the record explains, was all due to destiny. When he was destined to become king, who could stop him? Thus, about 1162 A. D., he succeeded in bringing most of the Chālukya dominions under his control. As stated in the records of his successor Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva, Bijjala did not hesitate even to put to death the members of the Chālukya house, to achieve his ambition.

But with all his machinations to seize power, Bijjala could afterwards rule the kingdom for a very short period of only six years The princes of the Chālukya family were trying to gather forces to regain the lost throne In this they were being supported by some of their loyal feudatories and officials. This was also a period of great religious revolution of the Vīraśaivas. By opposing the liberal religious movement of Basavēśvara, Bijjala became an enemy of his large number of followers. Under these circumstances, the hard-won throne became a bed of thorns to Bijjala

Bijjala had found a shrewd officer in Kasapayya-nāyaka From the beginning this chief stood by his master and encouraged him in his ambitious designs In about 1150 A D, he was governing the Banavāsi province Bijjala's son-in-law, Baimarasa of Bandaniko, who was a relative of Kasapayya nāyaka, was later governing the Banavāsi region under the instructions of this chief

Though Bijjala claims to have possessed all the Chālukya dominions, epigraphical evidence shows that the southern areas never came under his sway Banavāsi, whose affairs he controlled from the beginning of his career and from where he seems to have derived considerable support in his anti–Chalukya activities, was the southernmost province under him This province comprised large areas of the present North Kanara and Shimoga districts The Chitradurga region also readily acknowledged his authority It is doubtful whether the sovereignty of the Kalachuris extended further down over the tracts of Kadur, Hassan, Tumkur, Bangalore, Mysore and Coorg districts as no inscriptions of the rulers of this dynasty have so far been discovered there.

Bijjala had eight children His daughter Siriyādēvī, born of his wife Echaladēvi, had been given in marriage to Chāvunda of the Sinda family Vajradēva, his son, also born to Echaladēvī, appears to have predeceased his father. Kalidēva or Karna who figures in some records was most probably a son of Vajradēva. We do not know the name of the second daughter who had

married Barmarasa of Bandaṇike Besides these, we know of five sons of Bijjala II, viz Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva, Mallikārjuna, Sankama, Āhavamalla and Singhaṇa.

Sōvidēva (1167–1176 A D)

In about 1167 A. D Bijjala entrusted the kingdom to his son Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva We do not know the circumstances under which Bijjala who struggled so hard to seize power, renounced the throne, enjoying the sovereignty for a short period Perhaps he was himself a victim of the political confusion created by him He tried to suppress the religious and social reform movement of the Vīraśaivas headed by Basavēśvara This might also have been partly responsible for his downfall Even after his abdication he lived till March, 1168 A D

Bijjala could not, however, prevent the inevitable by renouncing the throne. Sōvidēva was not the rightful heir to the throne. From the inscriptions we get a fairly good account of the events that followed Bijjala's selection of Sōvidēva as his successor. Mailugi, younger brother of Bijjala was one of those who aspired to succeed his elder brother He appears to have declared himself the king with the support of some opportunists like Kasapayya. It is stated that the Kalachuri kingdom which was made insecure by the intrigues of evil ministers like Kasapayya, was saved by *daṇḍanātha* Mādhava This chief is described as the saviour of the Kalachuri kingdom. Meanwhile, Karṇa, the grandson of Bijjala, being the son of Bijjala's eldest son Vajradeva, also put forth his claim for succession to the throne. Young and energetic as he was he had also the support of several officers and chiefs. He too, hewever, soon became a victim to Mādhava's sword. These claimants thus set up their independent rule for short periods from different parts of the country The kingdom which was thus torn by the internecine quarrels, had almost been lost by Sōvidēva but for his able general Mādhava who, by his valour, secured it for his master.

Still, Sōvidēva was not destined to enjoy a peaceful rule. His reign period of about nine years (1167–76 A. D.) was also

marked by internal revolts. As will be seen further, during the last years of his reign he had to face the revolts of his younger brothers, Mailugi and Sankama who declared themselves as kings. The last known date of Sōvidēva is 1176 A. D.

Mallikārjuna (1175–76 A. D.)

Mallikārjuna, also known as Mallugi or Mailugi was another son of Bijjala. We find him assisting his father in administration even from 1157 A. D. Two inscriptions dated 1176 A. D. refer to the rule of this Mailugi and state that the year was his second regnal year, thereby indicating that he commenced to rule from 1175 A. D Māsanur, on the bank of the Bhīmā river in Sholapur district was his capital.

In the meanwhile we find Sankama, yet another son of Bijjala, also calling himself a king in 1175 A D. His inscriptions have been found in and around Bijapur district. From this it becomes clear that these two brothers rose in revolt against Sōvidēva during the last years of his rule and proclaimed themselves as kings about 1175–76 A D.

S[illegible]ma, Āhavamalla and Singhaṇa (1175–1184 A. D.)

We do not know what happened subsequently to Mallikārjuna. Sankama who succeeded Sōvidēva later ruled upto 1180 A. D. From a record of Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV, dated 1184 A D., we learn that Sankama was killed by Narasimha, a Chālukya general, who was the younger brother of Barma-daṇḍādhipa After Sankama two other sons of Bijjala, Āhavamalla and Singhaṇa, ruled from 1180 to 1183 A D and 1183 to 1184 A. D. respectively. We do not have any details of their rule. This was the period when the dethroned Chālukya king was gathering strength to recover the lost kingdom. A Miṇajgi inscription dated 1184 A D, refers to the rule of Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV and mentions Simhabhupāla as his feudatory. This latter person is identical with the above prince Singhaṇa of the Kalachuri family. By this date, the independent rule of the Kalachuris came to an end.

With this the curtain drops down and the Kalachuri interregnum ends. Some later members of this family, who had lost their sway, figure in inscriptions. Of them, Sōvidēva's son Vīra Bijjala who held his own till 1193 A. D. in his ancestral capital, deserves mention.

The Capitals

Mangalivēda, modern Mangaavēḍhe, was the first refuge and resort of the Kalachuri immigrants from north. There they settled permanently and established their hold It soon became the capital city of the succeeding members of the family. Coming down to Bijjala II, even during his early career, it retained its importance as the headquarters of the family. In the Vīraśaiva literary works like the *Basavarajadēvara ragaḷe*, this place figures under the name Mangaḷavāda After the usurpation of the Chālukya throne, Bijjala shifted his headquarters to Kalyāṇa, the Chālukya capital At the end of his reign when the Kalachuri authority over Kalyāṇa diminished, his successors preferred other places like Modeganur, modern Mādinur near Koppal. But, even then, Mangalivēda held its place as capital. Thus, throughout the Kalachuri rule, from the beginning to the end, Mangaḷivēḍa remained their home town and provincial headquarters.

The Epoch of the Later Chālukyas

Taking a retrospective view of its manifold achievements, the Later Chālukya epoch may be described as the age of dimensions, depths and heights. During this period Karnataka evinced all-round growth and development in several spheres— political supremacy, military leadership, benevolent administration, social solidarity, religious harmony, educational progress, linguistic and literary excellence, epigraphical grandeur, fine arts and architectural splendour.

Political Supremacy

As seen earlier, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi raised a vast army of formidable soldiers, which became proverbially famous as "countless and unconquerable Karnāṭaka Bala" in the military

annals of the contemporary world Dantidurga, the founder of the Rāshṭrakuṭa dynasty takes pride for vanquishing such a matchless force. It is a historical irony that after a lapse of about two centuries a later scion of the self-same Chālukya family turned the tables against the Rāshṭrakuṭas with the help of the self-same Karnāṭaka-Bala and revived the lost prestige and glory of his ancestors in a new political climate.

This dynasty had the good fortune of putting forth five great warrior and statesman rulers of eminence in unbroken succession viz Taila II, Satyāśraya, Jayasimha, Sōmēśvara I and Vikramāditya VI This advantage raised its status, prestige and influence among the southern and northern powers.

As compared with the Rāshṭrakūṭas the victories won by the Later Chālukyas on the fields of battle are not as resounding and dazzling as those of the former This has to be attributed to the changed political conditions and not to the lack of military strength and leadership on the part of the latter. Unlike in the past, forceful and ambitious dynasties, viz the Paramāras and the Chōlas, had now arisen as barriers on the northern and southern frontiers of the Chalukya dominions This new political situation stood in the way of the Chālukya monarchs pushing forth deep into the north and the south These disadvantages, however, were made good by securing advantages in the east and the west. The Chālukyas scored spectacular victories in these two quarters by their conquests in Vengi at one end and successes over the Śilāhāras and the Kadambas at the other. Thus they could claim the extent of their sway over a broad stretch of land of peninsular India lying between the two seas.

Government and Administration

The Chālukya administration was, in keeping with the times, inspired by the beneficent governance of broad-minded monarchs who adopted the liberal policy of patronage and encouragement in many fields Inspite of almost incessant wars the life of the common man in general ran smoothly and the subjects enjoyed the benefits of peace and prosperity

Autonomy

The government was not rigidly centralized The provincial governors, subordinate officers and feudatories, vassals and potentates exercised their authority with a certain measure of freedom within their circles The decentralization and freedom of action was more effective at the lowest levels of village administration Though under the control of central authority in a few vital matters like state revenue, law and order and foreign relation, the villages were autonomous units which were given a free hand in shaping their way of life and managing their multifarious day-to-day affairs In respect of the Agrahāra villages whose number was fairly large, the autonomy was fuller and more fruitful

Though not according to the modern methods of numerical strength and elective competetion, the people had developed a salutary sense of democratic behaviour and conduct in public as well as in private sectors. The learned, the wise and the elders were usually bestowed the privilege of functioning as spokesmen and representatives in the villages and communities. This healthy practice fetched its own rewards like mutual understanding, amity, goodwill, elimination of senseless rivalry and conflict, spirit of co-operation and partnership, which are essential for the progress and development of a state and a nation.

The spirit of democracy was in evidence in all walks of life, among the castes and communities, classes and masses and groups and sections. This resulted in the formation and functioning of a number of corporate institutions embracing the spheres of agriculture, trade, commerce and industries. Groups pursuing several vocations and professions like shepherds, potters, carpenters, oil-mongers, weavers, smiths, etc. had built up their corporate bodies to promote their welfare

The Five Hundred

There existed a mighty, comprehensive, central organization exercising its control over smaller local and regional units. This

was called Ayyāvole Aiňūrvaru or the corporation of Five Hundred of Aihole. This name appears to have been derived from the five hundred foundation members who belonged to the town of Aihole in Bijapur district, constituting its nucleus It was a far flung and resourceful institution of traders, craftsmen and workers, extending its sway not only in Karnataka, but also in the neighbouring tracts of Gujarat at one end and Tamil Nadu at the other. Conferred by the ruling kings, it enjoyed certain rights and privileges. It had the freedom to frame rules and regulations to safeguard its interests and to carry out its aims and objects It had limited judiciary powers too, extending over its constituents The traders and merchants moving from place to place were protected by armed guards.

Social Solidarity

Though spread over several castes, sub-castes, communal groups and sections, based on crafts, skills, avocations and professions, the society was not split on account of lack of understanding, unholy rivalry and clash of interests. The virtues of civility and humanism were ingrained among the people at large, who conscious of their common well-being realised the supreme values of fellow-feeling, comradeship and peaceful co-existence. The society was thus well-knit and well-integrated and save on rare occasions, its solidarity remained unshaken.

Religious Harmony

People entertained high principles in respect of religion, religious faith and practices They had developed a sense of liberality and catholicism. Steadfastly firm in their faith and practice of a particular religion which they had adopted as their own, they were willing to concede to others a similar freedom of choice and action. Let alone the followers of cults like that of Śiva, Vishṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇapati, Kumāra, Śakti and others, which in essence all belonged to the orthodox Hindu fold of Vedic traditions, even those of Buddhism and Jainism, considered as heterodox, were treated with exemplary tolerance and

respected to a large extent. Even the common man believed in the dictum :

> God is one, his names are many. The goal of spiritualism is one, though the paths of religion leading to it are numerous.

Tolerance

The sense of tolerance ran so high that even members of one and the same family such as husband and wife and parents and and sons and daughters were given freedom to follow the religion and faith of their choice. Many are the instances illustrating this phenomenon. A traditional passage of antiquity cited in a Belur epigraph avers.

> The Śaivas adore Him as Śiva
> The Vēdāntins extol Him as Brahma.
> The Bauddhas revere Him as Buddha.
> The Mīmāmsakas call Him Karma.
> The Jainas describe Him as Arhat
> The Naiyāyikas name Him as Kartri
> May He, this Kēśava fulfil your desires.

Education

This epoch was characterized by expansion in educational activities and large-scale increase in educational institutions in all parts of the country The institutions that were devoted to the cause of education were Agrahāras, Brahmapuras or Brahmapuris, Ghaṭikāsthānas, temples and monasteries. Agrahāras generally constituted entire villages endowed solely for the pursuit of higher studies Brahmapuris comprised localities in a village or town set apart specifically for the teachers and the taught engaged in the pursuit of knowledge. Ghaṭikāsthānas were institutions where specialised studies in one or more branches of knowledge were conducted. In the temples and monasteries provision was made, along with other schedules of work, for imparting education with a religious bias. The growth of these institutions and particularly the Agrahāras, was spectacular in this period.

The upsurge of educational institutions and promotion of learning was mainly due to the patronage extended by the ruling kings, the members of the royal family, feudatory chiefs and state officials. Co-operation and encouragement also came forth from the resourceful and philanthropic individuals who joined hands in furthering this noble task Democratic spirit permeated in the establishment and working of these foundations They were administered by popular representative bodies whose members were free to chalk out their plans and implement them without external check or interference.

In these institutions the pupils derived the benefits of receiving education at various levels from the primary to the higher courses of College and University. Kannada and Sanskrit were taught and cultivated Sanskrit was the medium of higher studies on account of its being a repository and rich treasure of traditional lores and sciences Kannada was taking big strides, particularly with its adoption earlier by the Jainas and later by the Vīraśaivas as a vechicle of expression for their religious as well as secular themes and compositions

Education was free at all stages and the levy and collection of fees from the individual students was unknown In many institutions of higher learning arrangements were made for the lodging, boarding and clothing of the students without payment of any kind.

Female Education

There were no general schools or institutions of higher education as such for the education of females However, intelligent and intending girls were encouraged to study the subjects like language, literature and fine arts Such an instruction was imparted in domestic environment under the guidance of special teachers This was possible only among the higher ranks and aristocratic and royal families. The above observations are vouched by the presence of a good number of ladies who were highly cultured and advanced in the fine arts and sciences like administration and state-craft.

Language and Literature : Sanskrit

Sanskrit continued to hold its status in the royal courts and among the higher circles Sanskrit learning and scholarship were worthily honoured and patronised Notable in this context are the two memorable reigns of Vikramāditya VI and his son Sōmēśvara III, stretching over six decades (1077-1138 A D), when such patronage reached its highest level. Three outstanding contributions of this period are the *Vikramānkadēvacharitam* of the scholar-poet Bilhaṇa, the *Mitākshara* of Vijnānēśvara, an authority on the civil law, both of whom were attached to the court of Vikramāditya, and the *Mānasōllāsa* compiled by the scholarly monarch Sōmēśvara III, fittingly called *Sarvajna-chakravarti*. Bilhaṇa expressly states about himself in his work, that he came all the way from Kashmir to the court of Vikramāditya VI, attracted by the high culture of the people and overpowered by the surpassing generosity of their king.

Kannada

Like a gracious river that descends from the mountain heights and spreads itself all around the plains below, enriching the fields with its sumptuous water, Kannada language and literature hitherto enshrined in the ivory towers of the royal courts and courtiers and the learned folk, broke open to touch the pulsating hearts of the commoners and move the discerning heads of the masses.

Though gradual and imperceptible, a change came over the Kannada language and literature which, to use the western phraseology, tended from classicism towards romanticism. The literary expression became simpler, direct and forceful. The vocabulary became comprehensive and elastic to convey the complex religious tenets and subtle philosophical thoughts. The poets, authors and writers devoted their attention in depicting more of secular themes, besides the religious subjects. The ponderous metrical form of the *Champūkāvya* gave place to compositions in terse metres of *Tripadi*, *Shatpadi* and *Ragaḷe*,

culminating in the buoyant prose of the Vachanas. This transformation became more marked with the advent of Vīraśaiva writers. The literary output on the whole was expansive, rich and substantial.

Epigraphy

In the realm of epigraphy this is an important age. If the Kannada inscriptions, on the whole, are estimated to run to several thousands, nearly half of them fall within this period, the epigraphs of Vikramāditya VI's reign alone making a solid bulk. It would not be an exaggeration to state that almost every village in Karnataka has possessed to this day remnants of one or more inscriptions of this period.

The Kannada alphabet which originated from Brāhmī (3rd century B C), took several centuries to emerge as a well defined South Indian script This was about the sixth century A. D. During the next four centuries the Kannada script continued its process of evolution and refinement. By the beginning of the eleventh century it reached its stylized and refined round shape and form which was retained for generations to come.

The inscriptions constitute state and public documents of great value They are carved on slabs of stone of fairly big size, cut into proper shape, dressed, polished, and decorated with suitable motifs. The work of the calligraphist and the engraver endowed them with artistic grace and finish.

As for the contents and subject matter, they furnish a fund of historical information on a variety of items, like the ruling king, his genealogy, his reign and the date, the feudatories and subordinate officers, the geographical factors, administrative procedure, religion, religious teachers, educational institutions, temples, etc By culling out such details we can form a fair idea of the political and cultural life of the age.

The epigraphs are precious for their literary merit also, being composed in chaste language and choice prose and poetic

form. Many of them stand out as good literary specimens by themselves. And above all is the chronological setting which renders their testimony unimpeachable.

Fine Arts

The arts of drawing, engraving, painting and sculpture were zealously pursued in several quarters. Painting embellished many temples of architectural exuberance. Sculptures, in particular, formed an integral part of the temples, shrines and sanctuaries The growth of this auxiliary art synchronised with the development of temple architecture. Inspired by religious fervour and devotion, images of gods, goddesses and deities were chiselled out with meticulous care and finest models of superb workmanship were put forth Many of these creations can easily rank with the exquisite examples of any other nations of the world.

Besides the primary icons and images meant for consecration and installation in the sanctums, numerous other sculptures and figures of various categories were set up in the niches, panels and friezes of temple structure to serve the purpose of decoration and proper environment.

Dance and music were the most popular arts that attracted the cottage and the palace alike However, they elicited greater interest and warmer reception in the community of the elite. It was a cultural accomplishment with the ladies of the royal and aristocratic families who devoutly practised and gained proficiency therein. Instances are not wanting of even queens and princesses, well-versed in these lores appearing in public before select audience to demonstrate their skill.

Architecture

The Chālukya rulers, their feudatories, subordinates and local potentates were all great builders, builders of magnificent temples of architectural eminence.

The foundations of the renowned Chālukya school of architecture were firmly laid at Bādāmi, Aihole, Pattadakal and Mahākūta in the age of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. Not much visible progress was, however, made in the sphere of structural monuments during the regime of the Rāshtrakūtas. The restoration of Chālukya supremacy inaugurated a new era of architectural renaissance, wherein came forth a sumptuous harvest of glorious monuments. This period may therefore be described as the Golden Age of Karnataka architecture.

From Bidar to Harihar and Balligāve and in the intermediate areas hundreds of artistic shrines were erected in this age. The master architects of this epoch introduced several innovations of construction, which contributed to the grandeur of the temple edifice.

Among the highly refined products of this time may be mentioned the following few Trikūtēśvara, Sarasvatī and Sōmēśvara temples at Gadag, Dodda Basappa temple at Dambal, Mahādēva temple at Itagi and Mallikārjuna temple at Kuruvatti, Muktēśvara temple at Chaudadānapur. In several other places, throughout the length and breadth of the country penetrating into, the remotest corners, are noticed a large number of architects' offsprings, many of them in a state of decay, standing witnesses of the great splendour that was Chālukyan art.

Basavēśvara

A towering personality of memorable name and fame is Basavēśvara, popularly called Basava and Basavanna. Though, on account of his proximity with Bijjala II, he is to be accomodated within the narrow span of Kalachuri interregnum, by virtue of his early life and the period of preparation coinciding with the last years of Vikramāditya VI's rule and the reigns of his two successors, and further considering his extensive achievements, he may be treated, in a wider sense, as a spiritual product of this epoch.

A modern historiographer approaching Basava with a historical sense is confronted with difficulties. Though the historicity of this personage is now beyond question, many authentic details of his life and achievements are still covered with the veil of doubt and uncertainty Contemporary epigraphs are totally silent about him. The Purāṇic accounts on the contrary, late and legendary, are voluminous and eloquent. But, the really historical information furnished by them is meagre. The picture of Basava presented by them is that of an incarnation of the god Śiva and not that of a human being, a great teacher, who strove hard to uplift his fellowmen. A redeeming feature, however, is that a good deal of contemporary epigraphical material is available about Bijjala who was his master and close associate for a considerable period of his life. Taking the aid of this indirect evidence and culling out some reasonable facts from the literary sources, we can draw up a fairly true narrative of Basava's life and achievements.

Basava, respectfully called Basavarāja, was born of the Brāhmaṇa parents Mādirāja and Mādalāmbikā at Bāgēvāḍi, a town now in Bijapur district He was probably the third child in the family with an elder brother by name Dēvarāja and elder sister called Nāgalāmbikā to whom he was fondly attached Basava is derived from Sanskrit Vrishabha who is the Divine Bull or Nandi, the vehicle of god Śiva

Basava's father was the chief of the representative assembly of Bagēvāḍi which was a renowned Agrahāra. The prevalent religious faith of the Brāhmaṇas of the locality and also of the region was Śaivism of the Paśupata school. This family also apparently belonged to this religious persuasion.

Basava was a precocious child, sensitive and emotional, possessing an independent spirit. From the age of understanding he cherished devotion to Śiva. This faith grew with his years and soon he became a fervent and unflinching devotee of this god. Basava's parents expired early and then he was brought up by his

grandmother. He received good education and evinced deep interest in Kannada and Sanskrit learning

Basava strongly reacted to the religious and social environments in which he was placed. People blindly adhered to the dogmas and ritualism of Vedic traditions without knowing the true spirit of religion. The society was divided into gradations of castes, communities and sects and inequality between man and man prevailed. Basava's mind revolted against these ills and he decided to defy the existing order of things. Soon an opportunity came when the Brāhmanical initiation ceremony was forced upon him. He wore the sacramental thread signifying loyalty to the Brāhmanic order for some time and discarded it later.

Basava then went to Kūḍala Sangama, a holy place on the confluence (*sangama*) of the rivers Krishṇā and Malaprabhā in Bijapur district. As a devotee, spiritual aspirant and seeker of true religion, he spent about twelve years in this place, taking Īśānya Guru as his preceptor and guide. Kuḍala Sangama was a cosmopolitan centre of pilgrimage where the high and the low freely mingled without distinction as devotees of one god Besides his own study of the religious works, Basava maintaind extensive contacts with scholars and learned men of various schools. Basava's stay in this sacred resort immensely benefited him, his vision widened ; his horizon of knowledge expanded, he had glimpses of his life's mission; his devotion to the god Śiva, called Sangamēsvara, of the place was intensified.

Prompted by his inner voice, Basava next proceeded to Mangalavāḍa (modern Mangalavēḍhe) which was the headquarters of the resourceful feudatory governor of the Kalachuri family, Bijjala II. He took service as an ordinary accountant under this chief and by his ability quickly rose to the high position of his Chief Treasurer. The Purāṇas describe his office as that of Chief Minister About this time he started his new movement of religious and social reforms, treating all devotees of Śiva as equal in all respects without the traditional distinctions of castes, communities and sects.

After this, Bijjala who was an admirer of Basava began to suspect him and the relations between the two soon became strained. Bijjala was a staunch advocate of Śaivism of the orthodox order, and not a Jaina as narrated in the Purāṇas. Another circumstance that estranged Basava from Bijjala was the latter's unholy ambition and unfair means to usurp the Chālukya throne After a stay of about two decades at Mangalavāda, Basava left for the imperial city of Kalyāṇa which soon became the capital of Bijjala also after his usurpation of the Chālukya kingdom.

At Kalyāṇa, Basava's reformist movement became popular and forceful. It attracted a large number of Śaiva devotees who became his followers. The Purāṇas profusely speak about his founding a grand philosophical institute called Anubhava Maṇṭapa. Herein assembled great personalities like Allama Prabhu, Basavaṇṇa and his nephew Chennabasavaṇṇa and others to deliberate on the intricate problems pertaining to religion, philosophy, mysticism and spiritual attainments. Bijjala whose jealousy and hostility for the movement increased, resolved to crush it by punishing the followers of Basava. According to the Purāṇic version, Basava was responsible for bringing about the marriage of the untouchable Haralayya's son with the Brāhmaṇa Madhuvayya's daughter. Infuriated by this sacrilegious offence, Bijjala convicted the two alleged miscreants, Haralayya and Madhuvayya to cruel death. Basava's followers, particularly the younger section, lost their temper and plotted to retaliate by murdering Bijjala. Basava disapproved the move, but could not restrain his turbulent followers. Realising that his mission was over, he left for Kūdala Sangama where he was merged with the God. Bijjala was soon assassinated.

Opinions differ regarding the span of Basavēśvara's life. Almost universally accepted traditional view is that he lived for thirty-six years. Another weaker tradition makes it thirty-two years. These views do not seem to be correct. If we assume that he lived for thirty-six years only, it leads to chronological anomalies and historical contradictions. Therefore, we have to

interpret the thirty-six years as the period of his religious career when he launched and pushed forth his new movement. Then we can reasonably ascribe him a life of over sixty years.

This can be worked out backwards from an epigraphical landmark which is the death of Bijjala early in 1168 A. D. Basava, it is admitted, passed away a few months earlier, say about the end of 1167 A. D. Accomodating roughly his sixteen years at Bāgēvādi, the next twelve years or so at Kūdala Sangama, the following twenty-one years in the service of Bijjala at Mangalavāda where his movement was started and nourished and finally, fifteen glorious years of his fruitful activity at Kalyāna, where his movement coming into full swing reached its climax, we arrive at over sixty years of his life. Thus tentatively, he lived from 1105 A. D. to 1167 A. D. On account of the great service rendered by him to better the lot of his fellow beings and the paramount devotion to Śiva preached by him, he was deified and immortalised by posterity.

Basavesvara is hailed as the establisher of a new religious faith called Viraśaiva or Neo-Saivism which differed from the orthodox Saivism by its reformist tenet. Basavēśvara's contributions stand out distinctly in the spheres of religion, social equity and Kannada language and literature. He fervently taught unswerving devotion to one Almighty God, Śiva, and gave a mighty impetus to the cult of devotion or Bhakti. He stressed absolute equality among the devotees of God. The touch of Linga, the symbol of Śiva, purifies and makes every one highborn, he averred. The status of a person in the society has to be judged by his moral conduct and good deeds and not by his birth or sex. He sponsored and popularised a new literary form in Kannada, viz. Vachana which comprises simple, terse, pithy and lyrical prose. By their vast compositions in this and other simple forms of expression Basavēśvara and his followers enriched Kannada literature and brought about a new era of literary renaissance.

Karnatas Beyond the Frontiers

The Spirit of Enterprise

We have shown that the epoch of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi harnessed the heroic impulses and enterprising spirit of the Kannada people, which led to the emergence of a mighty military organization in this land On the strength of this force the Chālukyas carried out triumphant campaigns and succeeded in founding two ruling dynasties in the areas of Andhra and Gujarat. Scholars have also suggested that two more ruling families, viz. the Eastern Gangas and the Kadambas that had settled in the province of Orissa in an earlier period, might have originally hailed from the Kannada country

Subsequently, under the effective leadership of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Later Chālukyas, the Kannada warriors serving as soldiers and commanders in their armies engaged in conquering expeditions, exhibited their remarkable skill and fighting capacity in the countries beyond their frontiers in the north, south east and west. Some members of the military personnel on account of political necessity and administrative exigency, stayed away in the alien territories for longer periods and some even settled there permanently. As the Kannada warriors were preferred by foreign potentates, many also entered service in their armies.

In Bengal

As early as in the ninth century A D and afterwards for three centuries more we find a large number of Karnāta warriors in the employ of the Pāla rulers of Bengal They are described as *rājapād-ōpajīvin* i e patronised by the kings For instance, in the inscriptions of Dēvapāla (c.810-54 A. D.) we get such early references to Karnāṭas and Lāṭas. It has been suggested that this influx of Karnāṭa warriors in the troops of Bengal was the outcome of the matrimonial alliances that were contracted between the princesses of the Rāshṭrakuṭa family and the Pāla kings.

The Chhindaka – Nāgas

Adverting to the emigrant chieftains of Karnataka who founded their kingdoms and principalities outside, we may start from near north and proceed eastward. The Chhindaka-Nāgas or Nāgavaṁśis were a family of feudatory governors who functioned in the Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh during the period of the eleventh to the thirteenth century A. D. If the names of the members of this family, like Dhārāvarsha and Kannara are suggestive of the Rāshṭrakuta influence over them, the adoption of the name Sōmēśvara by its members and the conquest of the Bastar region by Chālukya Sōmēśvara I in his northern campaign show that they owed their allegiance to the Later Chālukyas.

The appellation Chhindaka is derived from Sēndraka. As is well known, the Sēndraka chiefs who flourished in the early Chalukya period belonged to Karnataka This family name was later changed to Sinda A number of Sinda families are found ruling as feudatories of the Later Chālukyas in the areas of Bellary, Dharwar, Raichur and Bijapur. The kinship between the Chhindakas of central India with the Sindas of Karnataka is established by the common family traditions like the descent in the Nāga lineage, serpent banner, tiger crest and the hereditary title, 'Lord of Bhōgāvatī, the best of cities' Bhōgāvatī is supposed to be the capital of the Nāgas in the subterranean world.

The Rāshṭrakūṭas of Orissa

Turning to the east, we may note two families of Karnataka origin. One is the Rāshṭrakuṭa family ruling in the Sambalpur region of Orissa about the twelfth century A. D. A copper plate charter issued by Rānaka Parachakraśalya, son of Dhaṁsaka and grandson of Chamaravigraha, has been discovered in this area. Its seal bears the figure of Garuḍa. The chief, said to have migrated from Llatalōra i. e. Lattalur (modern Lātūr), was heralded by the musical instrument Trivali. He is described as an ornament of the pure Rāshṭrakūṭa race. The record is dated Samvat 56, obviously in the Chālukya Vikrama era, corresponding

to 1131 A. D. Vāgharakoṭṭa appears to have been the headquarters of this family.

The Tailapavaṁśis

Tailapavaṁśa is another family to which belonged Rāṇaka Rāmadēva who issued a copper plate grant in about the twelfth century A. D. He had settled in the northern district of Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh. In the Chālukya dynasty at least three princes bore the name Tailapa. It is not known which of them was the ancestor of Rāṇaka Rāmadēva.

The Sēnas of Bengal

In the history of Bengal, the Sēnas occupy an important place as rulers of eminence and renown The founder of this dynasty which ruled from c. 1050 to 1206 A. D. was Vīrasēna. In the records of this family this progenitor is described as a southerner and an ornament of the community of Karnāṭa Kshatriyas. From this it becomes plain that these rulers originally belonged to Karnataka Vijayasēna (c 1097-1159 A. D.) a later member of this dynasty, expanded his sway over the whole of Bengal. Vijayasēna's son Ballālasēna married a Chālukya princess named Ramādēvi Incidentally, *ballāḷa* is a Kannada name that has penetrated into Maharashtra also, e.g. Bājirao Ballāḷa Peshwa. The Sēnas were also great patrons of literature. To them goes the credit of introducing the Śaka era in Bengal, which was popular in Karnataka

The Karnāṭas of Mithila

An enterprising chief by name Nānyadēva (c. 1097-1147 A.D.) who hailed from Karnataka and belonged to the race of Karnāṭas, carved out a kingdom in Mithila or North Bihar on the ruins of the Pāla empire This dynasty is known as the Karnāṭas of Mithilā. The boundaries of this kingdom extended over a part of Nepal also. This family which had a chequered career continued to rule until the beginning of the fourteenth century. By their beneficial rule, efficient administration and constructive works of public

utility, the Karnāṭa regime in Mithilā is reckoned as a memorable epoch in the annals of that province.

Besides heroism and patriotic fervour, Nānyadēva was endowed with another attribute of the Kannada people, viz. love of music. This is attested by the classical treatise, entitled *Sarasvatī-hṛidayālankāra-hāra* (garland adorning the heart of the Goddess of Learning) composed by him. This work contains a chapter describing the *dēsi* (regional) *rāgas* which are generally of Karnāṭa type, betraying the nationality of the author. In this Nānyadēva calls himself an ornament of Karnāṭa-kula. The very name Nānyadēva appears to be of Kannada origin, being a short form of *Nanniya-dēva* (compare Nanniya-Ganga), 'the truthful lord'.

This whole subject is of great importance, worthy of detailed study and special treatment.

The Later Chālukya Genealogy
Taila II (973-997 A. D.)
Iṛivabedanga Satyāśraya (997-1008 A. D.)
Daśavarma
Vikramāditya V (1008-1015 A. D.)
Ayyaṇa (1015 A. D.)
Jayasiṁha II (Jagadekamalla I) (1015-1044 A. D.)
Sōmēśvara I (1044-1068 A. D.)
Jayasiṁha III
Sōmēśvara II (1068-1076 A. D.)
Vikramāditya VI (1076-1127 A. D.)
Jayasiṁha IV
Sōmēśvara III (1127-1139 A. D.)
Jagadēkamalla II (1139-1149 A. D.)
Taila III (1149-1162 A. D.)
Sōmēśvara IV (1158-1198 A. D.)
Bhūlōkamalla II
Jagadēkamalla III

The Kalachuri Genealogy
(Names of the earlier members are not known)
Uchita
(c. 925 A. D.)
Rāja I
Asaga I
(c. 950 A. D.)
Kannama I
(c 975 A. D.)
Kiriyasaga (Asaga II)
(c. 1000 A. D.)
Rāja (Rājala) II
(c. 1025 A. D.)
Ammugi
Śankhavarma
(Sankama)
Bijja, Bijjala I
(c. 1057 A. D.)
Krishna or Kannama II
(c. 1067 A. D)
Jōgama
(c. 1080-1118 A. D.)
Permādi
(1118-1120 A D)
Bijjala II
(113-1167 A D)
Rājala III
Mailugi
(1167 A. D.)

(continued)
Bijjala II
Vajradēva
Karṇa
(1167 A. D.)
Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva
(1167-1176 A. D.)
Vīra Bijjala III
(1193 A. D.)
Mallikārjuna
(1175-1176 A. D.)
Sankama II
(1175-1180 A. D.)
Āhavamalla
(1180-1183 A. D)
Singhana
(1183-1184 A. D.)
Matrimonial Alliances between the Chālukya and Kalachuri Houses
CHĀLUKYA
Sōmēśvara I
Vikramāditya VI, married →
married
2. Chandaladēvi
Sōmēśvara III
Nāgaladēvi, married →
KALACHURI
Jōgama
1 Sāvaḷadēvi
Permāḍi
Bijjala II

CHAPTER VII

THE SĒŪṆAS

The Sēuṇas came to prominence as independent rulers in the latter half of the 12th century A. D., but their political career had commenced two centuries earlier, in the 10th century A. D. itself.

Origin

Like many other medieval dynasties, the Sēuṇas also trace their origin to hoary antiquity and claim their descent from Yadu of the Purāṇic fame. They are said to have migrated to the south from Dvārakā or Dvārāvatī and assumed the title *Yādava-Nārāyaṇa*. Another title which they assumed, viz. *Vishṇuvaṁśōdbhava*, came from Vishṇu whose incarnation was the Yādava king Krishna of epic fame. But this association of theirs with Yadu or Dvārāvatī is merely mythical. Besides Hēmādri, the author of the *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, who was the contemporary of the last two Sēuṇa kings, some inscriptions of the Sēuṇas also narrate this mythical origin. But nowhere do we find any trace of the Sēuṇas in Saurashtra where Dvārakā is situated. Many other dynasties including the Hoysalas claim this lineage. The reason for such a claim was apparently to glorify and give an appearance of antiquity to the dynasty.

It was held by scholars like Bhandarkar that the Sēuṇas were 'an indigenous Maratha sect', and the reason for this view is that the field of their political activity in the early days lay in the present Maharashtra, viz. the area in Nasik and Ahmadnagar districts. But this view is erroneous. The evidence at hand, far from proving their northern origin and migration southwards, indicates that they originally belonged to the Kannada area and due to political exigencies moved to the north towards the Nasik area. For instance, names of the members of this family such as Dhāḍiyappa, Bhillama, Lachchhiyavvā, Rājugi, Vaddiga and Vēsugi indicate the dynasty's Kannada origin. Matri-

monial connections of the Sēuṇas were mostly with the royal families of Karnataka, like the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Chālukyas. Geographically also, they were intimately connected with the Kannada speaking area. Some members assumed the significant title *Karṇāṭarāja-vaṁśābhirāma*. Some minor chiefs belonging to the same stock were in power in the Kannada area contemporaneously with the main line. Almost all the inscriptions of the Sēuṇas are in Kannada language. Thus, there can be no doubt about the Karnataka origin of the Sēuṇas. As will be seen below, they started their career as feudatories of the Rāshṭrakuṭas. During the rule of these kings the Sēuṇas were appointed governors of the Nasik region where they went and settled. This area which came to be known as Sēuṇadēśa, was then in the Kannada country

The Sēuṇas are generally mentioned as the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. But the proper name of the dynasty is Sēuṇa. As observed earlier, their Yādava origin is only mythical. Further, Dēvagiri became their capital much later, two centuries after they appeared on the political scene. In their own records, as well as in those of the contemporary dynasties like the Hoysalas and the Kākatīyas, they are referred to as Sēuṇas. It is therefore proper to designate the dynasty as Sēuṇa and not the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. The dynasty appears to have derived this name from its first ancestor Sēuṇachandra I. As for the name Sēuṇa, it appears to be a prākṛitisation of the Sanskrit expression *saiguṇa*.

The Early Rulers (c 835-970 A D)

The first ruler of the dynasty was Sēuṇachandra I who rose to importance in the Nasik region. He had his headquarters at Sindinēra, modern Sinnar in Nasik district. This town was subsequently called Sēuṇapura after him. On account of the close association of the members of this family with the region, it became known in course of time as Sēuṇadēśa.

Sēuṇachandra I was succeeded by Dhāḍiyappa I. The latter was succeeded by his son Bhillama I and Bhillama by Rājugi.

No historical details are available regarding these chiefs. The next chief Vādugi or Vaddiga I, fourth in order of descent after Sēuṇachandra was a feudatory of Rāshṭrakuṭa Kṛishṇa III. This would take back the date of Sēuṇachandra to about 835–860 A.D., when Rāshṭrakuṭa Amōghavarsha I was the ruling king. His three successors named above were in power approximately between 860–885 A. D., 885-910 A. D. and 910–935 A. D. respectively.

Vaddiga I was the son of Rājugi. From his time the Sēuṇa family slowly gained in power and importance. He is described as the follower of Kṛishṇarāja who was the Rāshṭrakuṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939–967 A. D.). Not only was he a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakuṭas but also was related to them through his marriage with Vaddiyavva, the daughter of Dhōrappa i. e. Nirupama, the brother of Kṛishṇa III. Vaddiga ruled from c. 935 to 970 A. D. He had a brother, Dhāḍiyasa or Dhāḍiyappa II. Vaddiga was succeeded by his son Bhillama II.

Bhillama II (c 970–1005 A D.)

In the time of Bhillama's rule, a major change took place in the political situation of the Deccan. After Kṛishṇa III, the Rāshṭrakuṭa power declined and soon Taila II, the feudatory of Kṛishṇa, successfully overthrew the Rāshṭrakuṭas This change affected Bhillama also, as it did other feudatories. The feudatories had to change their allegiance to the new ruler. But Bhillama, a trusted subordinate of the Rāshṭrakuṭas, does not seem to have submitted so easily or willingly. A Śilāhāra copper-plate grant of 1095 A. D. tells us that Aparājita of that family (975–1010 A. D.) gave protection to Bhillama who could be none else but Bhillama II. Bhillama must have sought his protection against Taila since the Śilāhāra chief also had not accepted subordination under the Chālukya king. But Bhillama did not gain much by the Śilāhāra's help. Eventually, he had to accept the supremacy of Taila, sometime after 993 A. D. Since then the Sēuṇa chief faithfully assisted his overlord.

In Bhillama, Taila found a powerful ally who played an important role in guarding the northern boundary of the Chālukya territory. The traditional enmity between the Paramāras and the Rāshtrakuṭas continued even after the extinction of the latter power, only with the difference that the Chālukyas became the rivals of the Paramāras. Many battles were fought between the two. As can be gathered from an inscription from Chikkerūr in Dharwar district, of about 995 A. D., Taila sent an army under the command of his son Satyāśraya to fight the Paramāra king Munja This was the last battle that Munja fought with the Chālukyas, since it was then that he was imprisoned and later killed. Bhillama must have played a prominent role in this fight as an epigraphical record gives him the credit of killing Munja. This act of bravery earned for Bhillama due recognition by the king who conferred on him the feudatory title *mahāsāmanta*. Bhillama also bore the epithet *sellavideqa* or *sellavedaṅqa* (the heroic wielder of the javelin). The expression *sella* herein is derived from the Sanskrit *śalya*.

Bhillama's wife Lachchiyavva, was the daughter of Jhanja whose identity it is difficult to determine. She is also stated to have been connected with the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. Bhillama II's known record is dated 1000 A.D , while the earliest record of his grandson Bhillama III is dated in 1025 A. D. In between these two dates is to be placed Vēsugi I, the son of Bhillama II. So it is possible to suggest that Bhillama ruled between c. 970 and 1005 A. D.

Vēsugi I (c. 1005–1015 A. D.)

Vēsugi I's short rule was uneventful. He married a lady named Nāyīyaladēvī, daughter of Goggirāja who is described as the *māṇḍalika* or a minor feudatory of the Chālukya family. He is, in all probability, the same as Goggirāja, a feudatory chief in Chitradurga district. The above noted record of Bhillama III, dated in 1025 A D., states that Bhillama made a grant of a village after offering *tarpaṇa* to his father. This indicates that

Vēsugi was dead by then. So it would be reasonable to assume that Vēsugi ruled between 1005 and 1015 A D

Bhillama III (c 1015–1055 A. D.)

Bhillama III was too young to shoulder the responsibilities of kingship when he succeeded to the throne. So his grandmother Lachchhiyavva acted as his regent till he came of age

When Bhillama commenced his rule, it seems, he was not happy with his subordinate position Though he did not openly revolt, vague references in the epigraphs point to his clashes with his Chālukya overlord. For instance, Bijjarasa and Nāgarasa, the feudatories of Chālukya Jayasimha II are credited with the defeat of Bhillama. But Sōmēśvara I, the next Chālukya king, thought it better not to allow the enmity to grow, particularly because Bhillama was placed in the northern borders of the Chālukya kingdom which was never out of danger So, with foresight, he befriended Bhillama by entering into a matrimonial alliance with him by offering his sister Avvalladēvī in marriage When thus the relation between the two became closer, Bhillama proved to be a useful ally in helping Sōmēśvara defeat the Paramāra king Bhōja In this expedition against Malwa, Bhillama captured the fort of Eṇakai which was in charge of Bhōja's officer Śrīdhara-daṇḍanāyaka This general surrendered the fort to Bhillama and became his subordinate Bhillama ruled between c. 1015 to 1055 A. D

Sēuṇachandra II (c. 1068–1080 A D)

Bhillama III was succeeded by his younger son Vēsugi II, since probably his elder son Vaddiga II had predeceased him, and Vaddiga's son Sēuṇachandra II was too young. After Vēsugi, his son Bhillama IV came to power thus setting aside the claim of Sēuṇachandra, who had to acquire the throne by force, by ousting Bhillama. Sēuṇachandra is described in epigraphs as having lifted up his own kingdom which was being drowned on account of the disaster caused by his kinsmen.

In this endeavour Sēuṇachandra received help from the Śilāhāra chief Bhōja According to the Kolhapur plates of Gaṇḍarāditya, Śilāhāra Bhōja killed a Bhillama who can be identified with Bhillama IV, the adversary of Sēuṇachandra. The struggle took place sometime before 1069 A. D., by which time Sēunachahdra had assumed the rulership

From about 1070 A D the Chālukya prince Vikramāditya VI was making efforts to overthrow his elder brother Sōmēśvara II who was the ruling king Sēuṇachandra now sided with Vikramāditya VI. But this alliance enraged Sōmēśvara II who sent an army against Sēuṇachandra under the Telugu-chōḷa chief Chiddana-chōla some time before 1074 A. D. Chiddaṇa-chōla's claim that he defeated and captured Sēuṇachandra is however only a boast. Neither the Chōla chief nor the Chālukya king could break the alliance between Sēuṇachandra and Vikramāditya. It is known that the latter became the Chālukya emperor by ousting Sōmēśvara II in 1076 A. D. With this event Sēunachandra's prestige grew in the eyes of Vikramāditya with whose favour he became the master of all the territory up to the river Narmadā, while his capital remained at the ancestral seat of Sēuṇapura i. e. Sinnar in Nasik district.

The latest date we have for Bhillama III is 1052 A. D., while the earliest date for his grandson Sēuṇachandra II is 1069 A. D. In between these two, Sēuṇachandra's uncle Vēsugi II and his son Bhillama IV, from whom Sēuṇachandra wrested the throne, were in power. It appears, Vēsugi ruled till about 1068 A. D., and then Bhillama IV came to power. But, Bhillama seems to have been deposed soon after his accession. Sēuṇachandra helped Vikramāditya's succession to the Chālukya throne and this was accomplished in 1076 A. D. The last date of Sēuṇachandra must therefore fall after 1076 A. D, probably in 1080 A. D.

Āirammadēva (*c. 1080–1110 A. D.*)

Sēuṇachandra II was succeeded by his elder son Āiramma who, as a prince, assisted his father in his efforts to secure the

Chālukya throne for Vikramāditya VI. Āirammadēva ruled between 1080 and 1110 A. D.

Singhaṇa I (c 1110–1145 A D)

Āiramma was succeeded by his brother Singhaṇa I. The influence of the Sēuṇas grew further during the period of this chief. Both his brother and father had helped Vikramāditya VI in his difficult days and this did not go without reward. In addition to the Sēuṇadēśa, Singhaṇa came in possession of another division, Pratyaṇḍaka or Paliyaṇḍa four thousand, the area round about Parēṇḍā in Osmanadad district. He also got as personal fief, Honnatti, a village in Dharwar district. Singhaṇa also helped Vikramāditya in the latter's wars with the Hoysaḷas and other enemies. His known date is 1142 A. D. He ruled between c. 1110 and 1145 A. D.

Mallugi I to Gōvindarāja (c. 1145–1155 A. D.)

After Singhaṇa I came his son Mallugi 1, who was succeeded first by his son Amaragāngēya and thereafter by his grandson Gōvindarāja. Mallugi is described as having acquired the city of Parṇakhēṭa for his residence and snatched away the elephants of the king of Utkala. But these statements cannot be verified for want of evidence. Nor can definite dates be assigned for these three rulers. The next chief that figures is Mallugi II, probably a younger son of Mallugi I. It is likely that he succeeded Gōvindarāja, presumably because the latter had no male issue. Mallugi II's earliest known date is 1162 A. D. So he might have come to power approximately by 1155 A. D. It is noted that Singhaṇa I ruled till about 1145 A. D. Therefore, the above three rulers might have ruled during the period from c. 1145 to 1155 A. D.

Mallugi II (c. 1155–1165 A. D.)

With Mallugi II, the Sēuṇa family entered into a more significant phase in its history. Major changes had now taken place in the political field. The supremacy of the Chālukyas

was obliterated by their subordinates, the Kalachuris; Bijjala II of the family ousted Chālukya Taila III and occupied the throne. The eastern neighbours, the Kākatīyas were trying to exploit the situation and extend their areas further west in the Chālukya territory. The Sēuṇa chief was not slow to take advantage of the situation. Mallugi's predecessors were the feudatories of the Chālukyas. But Mallugi refused to be a subordinate of their successors, the Kalachuris. Instead, he challenged Bijjala and fought with him. Mallugi had to fight with Kākatīya Rudradēva also. But his efforts in this direction did not succeed, the Kalachuri king also could not be shaken from his new position However, it becomes clear that the Sēuṇa was no longer satisfied with his subordinate position and was determined to be independent

Mallugi II lived till about 1165 A. D. He had two sons of whom Kāliyaballāla was the elder This prince who does not seem to have been energetic, lived till about 1173 A. D. His son who succeeded him was soon ousted by his ambitious uncle Bhillama V, the younger son of Mallugi II. Bhillama who was powerful, secured for his family the status of an independent dynasty, as we shall see presently.

Bhillama V (c. 1173–1192 A. D.)

Having seized the throne, Bhillama zealously strove to realise his ambition of becoming independent, and many an opportunity presented itself to him in this task. Though Bhillama's father Mallugi II attempted to exploit the situation and challenged the Kalachuri authority, it did not result in any advantage to him. But Bhillama continued his efforts. With his eye on Kalyāṇa, the erstwhile capital of the Chālukyas, he fast moved southwards from his capital Sēüṇapura. On his way, he captured Śrīvardhana, a hill-fort near Poona, and his next target was Pratyaṇḍaka i. e. Parēṇḍā in Osmanabad district, which he seized. This place, as already seen, was once under the Sēüṇas themselves, during the time of Singhaṇa I. But, in the meanwhile it must have slipped from the possession of the

family, and this necessitated Bhillama's conquering it again. This brought him near Kalyāṇa. He fought with Kalachuri Mailugi, son of Bijjala II, in about 1176 A D which is the last known date of this prince.

In the early stages, Bhillama did not gain much by such encounters. In about 1182 A D. Chālukya Sōmēśvara IV succeeded in putting down the Kalachuris and establishing the Chālukya supremacy once again But Bhillama was not prepared to adjust himself to the changed conditions by accepting the ancestral subordinate position to the Chālukyas. Instead, he challenged Sōmēśvara also and the inevitable took place. Sometime in 1183 A. D. Bhillama fought a battle with the Chālukya, but was defeated by Sōmēśvara's famous general Barma

However,soon things were to change The repeated onslaughts of Bhillama from one side and those of Hoysala Ballāla II on the other, forced Sōmēśvara IV to confine himself to the Banavāsi region, which was under the rule of the Kadambas of Hāngal. This cleared the way for Bhillama. He quickly occupied Kalyāṇa and the northern parts of the Chālukya kingdom north of the river Kṛishṇā and in about 1186 A. D. he proclaimed himself independent.

But, Bhillama could not rest in peace He had enemies all around The Kalachuris, though powerless, were still trying to oppose him The Kadambas, the Sindas and other feudatory chiefs were reluctant to recognise the new ruler And most of all, he had to face the strongest enemy in Hoysala Ballāla II who also spared no efforts to assert his claim to the Chālukya kingdom Just as Bhillama was pushing southwards, so also was Ballāla rushing towards the north from his capital at Dōrasamudra. Consequently, both had to face each other and they met on the battle-field near Soraṭūr, now a village in the Gadag taluk of Dharwar district.

Earlier, after occupying the Bijapur area, Bhillama had moved southwards into Dharwar district. On his way he was

vainly opposed by Bijjala III, son of Rāvamurāri Sōvidēva. He had been able to bring under his sway the northern portions of this district, then known as Belvola, but it was only temporary Hoysala Ballāla had already under his control the southern parts of this district and was heading towards the north when he met Bhillama. A fierce battle was fought between the two ambitious rulers near Soraṭūr in the first half of 1190 A. D. The battle was finally decided in favour of Ballāḷa and Bhillama had to withdraw After this success, Ballāla was cautious enough to station a portion of his army at Lokkigundi (modern Lakkuṇḍi in Gadag taluk), which was an important fort in Belvola. As inscriptions show, he was frequently camping here.

Bhillama's northern neighbours also were not keeping quiet. Paramāra Vindhyavarma of Malwa was his adversary who fought with him probably on the bank of the Narmadā which was the northern boundary of the Sēuṇa kingdom Bhillama also led an expedition against the Chaulukya king Bhīma and also his eastern neighbour Kākatīya Rudra But none of these battles was of any advantage to either of the parties.

Bhillama survived the Soraṭūr battle at least by two years He spent these two years in consolidating his rule in the area captured by him. In his predecessor's time, the territory of the Sēuṇas was restricted to the Nasik-Ahmadnagar area in the south. Bhillama added all the area south of this, up to the northern part of Dharwar district to his kingdom. Though his capital continued to remain at Sinnar during these military operations, he had made Taḍavalage in Bijapur district, his temporary headquarters But, in view of the expanded territory, Sinnar was too much to the north. So Bhillama thought of a central place for his capital. Further, Hoysala Ballala II was his powerful enemy and therefore he had to fix his abode in the interior of his kingdom which could be away from the danger of attacks by Ballāla. For these reasons he might have chosen Dēvagiri, modern Daulatabad in Aurangabad district, as his stronghold and headquarters of the kingdom. Here he started

building his new capital. Although it is doubtful if he could himself settle in this place, certainly his son Jaitugi ruled from Dēvagiri. Bhillama lived till 1192 A D

Jaitugi I (1192–1197 A. D.)

Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi I towards the end of 1192 A. D His efforts to push forth into the southern part of Belvola and occupy it were rendered futile by Ballāla II, who held this area till about 1212 A D Ballāla's records show that during this period he stayed in this region establishing his military camp at Lakkuṇḍi. This put a stop to further attempts of Jaitugi to occupy this area.

On the eastern border, however, Jaitugi succeeded to a considerable extent. His adversary, Kākatīya Rudra was killed in the battle. Rudra's brother Mahādēva raided Dēvagiri in order to avenge his brother's death, but he too lost his life in the fight Further more, Mahādēva's son Gaṇapati was taken captive by Jaitugi, who later reinstated him on the Kākatīya throne.

This is the one notable event in the political career of Jaitugi, though, rather curiously, his own inscriptions do not give enough details of the event. There is a record crediting him with victory over Turushkas i. e the Muslims. It is quite likely that this is a reference to some clash between the forces of Jaitugi and the Muslims in the northern borders of the Sēuṇa kingdom It may be noted in this context that the neighbouring Gujarat had to face Qutb-ud-din's attack Jaitugi lived till 1199 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Singhaṇa II.

Singhaṇa II (1199–1247 A. D)

Fleet stated that Singhaṇa came to the throne in 1210 A. D. and this statement was followed by all the subsequent writers. But there is evidence to show that Singhaṇa ascended the throne sometime in the middle of 1199 A. D. The last date for his father Jaitugi is January, 1199 A. D., while the earliest date we have

for Singhaṇa is May, 1199 A. D. Most of the inscriptions of Singhaṇa found in the northern part of the former Chālukya territory i. e. the area which Singhaṇa inherited when he came to the throne, count his regnal years from 1199 or 1200 A.D., while those found further south in the area which was earlier under the occupation of Ballāla II, count it from 1210-11 A. D This phenomenon, though strange, indicates that Singhaṇa took about ten years to conquer the southern area from the Hoysala. We can thus explain the counting of his regnal years in these parts from 1210-11 A. D. This will be seen later.

Singhaṇa was ambitious. His object was the expulsion of Ballāla II from the Chālukya territory and its annexation which would expand his dominions He ultimately succeeded in this. To achieve this end, however, he had to make strenuous efforts. Ballāla had firmly stationed himself in southern Belvola and Singhaṇa could not, in the beginning, oust him from there. He had to wait for a more opportune time to conqner this area. During this period, therefore, he turned his attention towards his northern neighbours.

Malwa appears to have been the first target of Singhaṇa's attack. His Paramāra contemporaries were Subhaṭavarma, his son Arjunavarma and the latter's son Dēvapāla. Singhaṇa successively waged wars against all the three. Subhaṭavarma was attacked quite early in his career, and Arjunavarma was defeated before 1206 A. D.

The Lāṭa region, the area around modern Broach was then a bone of contention between the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras. The Lāṭa chief Śankha was trying to be independent by seeking help from one or the other of these two powers. Singhaṇa sought to turn this situation to his advantage. Śankha was defeated in the first campaign against Lāṭa, while in the next one, Singhaṇa himself suffered defeat at the hands of Salakhaṇadēva, a general of the Lāṭa chief Siṁha, the successor of Śankha who had now procured the help of Paramāra Arjunavarma. To

defeat, Singhaṇa once again attacked Lāta. This resulted avenge the in the defeat of Simha and the death of his brother Sindhurāja.

Singhaṇa then revived his efforts to oust Hoysala Ballāla II' from southern Belvola. But instead of attacking Ballāla directly, Singhaṇa planned to subdue the subordinate chiefs first, thus depriving the Hoysala of the possible help from them. This proved to be a successful strategy.

According to this plan, Singhaṇa first proceeded towards Goa, the territory of the Kadamba chief Jayakēśi III In March 1206 A.D. Singhaṇa's general Sahadēva had camped on the bank of the Kṛishṇā on his way to Goa and in a few months' time after that he must have completed the expedition The absence of Jayakēśi's inscriptions after 1203-04 A D indicate that he must have suffered defeat at the hands of Singhaṇa

The Sēuṇa army then moved to the Kolhapur area, which was governed by the Śilāhāra chiefs. Bhōja II of this family was forced to submit and the territory became a part of the Sēuṇa kingdom about 1213 A D. From this date we notice the Sēuṇa records in this area. Thence Singhaṇa's army turned towards Banavāsi, the territory of the Hāngal Kadambas. This he occupied without much opposition. This was accomplished before 1215 A. D., since from this date we find numerous records of Singhaṇa in this region. In these campaigns, Singhaṇa's general Māyidēva played a prominent role and for this he was rewarded with the governership of the Banavāsi province.

This was a setback to Ballāla. But Singhana did not stop with this. He now marched with his army upon Lakkundi which he conquered in 1213 A. D. As stated earlier, Ballāla was in occupation of the fort in 1212 A D. No record of his is found in this area after this date, whereas epigraphs of Singhaṇa begin to appear here from 1213 A. D. onwards Bīchaṇa, the most powerful general of Singhaṇa played an important role in this campaign. The occupation of the district of Purigere, adjacent to Belvola in the south, followed immediately.

Thus, the Belvola expedition, commenced in 1206 A. D., was completed by 1215 A D. This was the most successful of Singhaṇa's campaigns, since he could push Ballāla out of the northern districts of the former Chālukya empire and occupy the entire territory including the northern part of Shimoga district

The Sinda chiefs of Belagutti holding a small tract in the Banavāsi province, became conspicuous by their activities at this period Not satisfied with a subordinate position under Hoysala Ballāla II, the Sinda chief Īśvaradēva II revolted and sided with Singhaṇa in the latter's southern expedition Perhaps Īśvaradēva expected a better status for him as a feudatory for his services rendered to Singhaṇa in his wars. But Singhaṇa treated him on par with his ordinary subordinate officers This must have hurt the Sinda chief, for, later we find that he and his successors rose against the Sēuṇa rule whenever they got an opportunity But this did not much affect the Sēuṇa authority which was firmly established in that area

One other feudatory family which had to accept the Sēuṇa supremacy was that of the Haihayas of Moraṭa, a small province of three hundred villages, around modern Mallaṭ in the Manvi taluk of Raichur district. Mallidēva I of this family had refused to accept the authority of Bhillama V, But Singhaṇa brought under his power the former's son Mallidēva II, who later became his trusted feudatory.

Circumstances forced Ballāla to retreat from the north. He would perhaps have proved a formidable foe of Singhaṇa, had not his attention been diverted towards the south. The Chōla king Kulōttunga III who had to face the attack of the Pāṇḍya king, sought the help of Hoysala Ballāḷa in regaining his throne. This event raised the prestige and influence of the Hoysaḷa in the southern kingdom, but it made matters easy for Sēuṇa Singhaṇa to push his dominions southward and occupy parts of the northern territory of the Hoysaḷa kingdom. The hostilities between the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas continued during the perio

of the next Chōla king Rājarāja III also, calling for the mediation of Ballāla II's son Narasiṁha. This king succeeded in reinstating Rājarāja on the throne. As a price for this, the Chōla had to part with a portion of his territories in favour of the Hoysala. Sōmēśvara, son of Narasiṁha, was placed in Kaṇṇānur as the governor of the area around that place.

Ballāla II died in 1220 A. D. His son Narasiṁha II who did not like Singhaṇa's encroachment of his northern territory, fought many battles with Singhaṇa. One such took place in 1223 A. D. on the bank of the Tungabhadrā Another battle was fought in about 1228 A. D. near Nērilage in Shimoga district, when the Hoysala general Amiteya-daṇḍanāyaka led the army. Once again the rival armies met on the battle field about 1230 A. D. But in the midst of the battle Narasiṁha had to rush to the Chōla country to settle the affairs there.

Narasiṁha's involvement in the affairs of the kingdoms of the south disabled him from giving full attention to his northern neighbour and this again helped Singhaṇa to consolidate his power and permanently annex northern parts of the Hoysala territory to the Sēuṇa kingdom.

Narasiṁha's son Sōmēśvara was, politically as well as temperamentally, more attached to the Chōla country than to his northern districts. In his early age he had been placed in charge of the Chōla dominions and he had little contact with the north. He does not seem to have made any serious effort to recover his territory from Singhaṇa, though he bore the epithet *Sēuṇa-nṛipa-bal-ārṇava-dāvānala*.

While Singhaṇa's generals. Bīchaṇa and Māyidēva were busy extending the Sēuṇa kingdom in the south, his another general Khōlēśvara was engaged in wars with his northern adversary of Gujarat, Viz. the Chaulukya king Bhīma II. All the affairs of the latter's kingdom were controlled by his generals, the Vāghēla chiefs Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala. The Sēuṇa

army crossed the Narmadā and overran Bharukachchha, i. e. Broach.

Lavaṇaprasāda, who was opposing the Sēuṇa onslaught could not continue to do so for long and therefore entered into a treaty with Singhaṇa. The text of this treaty has come down to us by way of an illustration of treaties in the *Lēkhapaddhati*, a compilation of various types of documents This treaty was concluded some time before 1228 A D It was stipulated therein that neither party should revive hostility towards the other However, Singhaṇa did not keep up his word He raided Gujarat once again, this time with the alliance of the Lā'a chief Śankha, his one time adversary. Gujarat was now in difficulties. It was threatened at the same time by the attacks of the Paramāra king and the king of Marwar, while a muslim ruler also chose the same time for attack. So, finding it difficult to defend the country against many enemies, Tējapāla and Vastupāla, the ingenious ministers of Vīradhavala foiled the plans of Singhaṇa by a forged document. But Singhaṇa soon renewed his attack by sending his general Rāma, son of Khōleśvara, against Gujarat. Rāma, however, lost his life on the battlefield on the bank of the Narmadā. This was some time before 1240 A. D. Vīradhavala appears to have staged a counter attack on the Sēuṇa kingdom soon. However, he did not succeed According to the poem *Hammīramadamardana* of Jayachandra, the subject of which are the deeds of Tējapāla and Vastupāla, Singhaṇa did not spare Paramāra Dēvapāla also

Singhaṇa's reign came to an end in October 1247 A D. This long period was eventful During this time the Sēuṇa kingdom rose to the zenith of its glory and reached its maximum extent with the Narmadā in the north, the Tungabhadrā in the south and the seacoast in the west. In the east, the boundary lay in the eastern parts of Anantapur and Kurnool districts.

Kannara (1247–1261 A. D)

Singhaṇa's son Jaitugi II having died a premature death, the succession went to the latter's son Kannara He ascended the throne towards the end of 1247 A. D.

Kannara's rule was not eventful His task was only to stabilise the large kingdom he had inherited The hereditary enmity with the neighbouring rulers, however, did not die. On the northern border, Kannara attacked Visaladēva, the Vāghēla chief, who had succeeded to the Gurjara throne In the south, he came face to face with the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara, the son and successor of Narasimha The war with Sōmēśvara was advantageous to Kannara and he appears to have further extended his territory in the Hoysala land, as seen from his inscriptions found in Chitradurga district By and large, except for such skirmishes Kannara's reign may be said to have been a peaceful one. His rule lasted up to 1261 A D

Mahādēva (1261-1271 A D)

Mahādēva, the younger brother of Kannara became the next ruler of the Sēuṇa kingdom He was designated *yuvarāja* by about 1251 A. D., during the reign of Kannara He shared the responsibility of the kingdom and in an epigraphical record he is mentioned jointly with Kannara He came to the throne after Kannara, on the 28th August, 1261 A. D

Hēmādri, the author of *Vratakhaṇḍa*, states with the license of a poet that due to fear of Mahādēva, the Paramāra king placed an infant child on the throne, knowing that the Sēuṇa would not kill a child Allowing for some poetic exaggeration there appears to be some substance in the statement A study of the Paramāra history shows that there was some confusion during this period and it is possible to surmise that Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman, the Paramāra contemporary of Mahādēva, suffered defeat at the hands of the latter and placed his son Bhōja II on the throne

Hēmādri makes a similar statement in the usual figurative way, about the Kākatīyas. He affirms that the Kākatīya king, knowing that Mahadeva would not hurt ladies, placed a woman on the throne. This simply means that the Kākatīya contemporary of Mahādēva was a woman and it is a

fact that at this time Rudrāmbā, the daughter of Ganapati was on the Kākatīya throne. However, contrary to the description of Hēmādri, Mahādēva soon led his army against her and besieged the Warangal fort. But the attempt to conquer it failed and he had to retreat. The Telugu sources claim that Rudrāmbā defeated and pursued Mahādēva to the doors of Dēvagiri and that he had to bargain for peace by paying her one crore of gold coins. An inscription of this period in Kannada, found in Bidar, extols the heroism of a general of Rudrāmbā, implying that in this war Mahādēva had to suffer reverses.

Changes had taken place in the Hoysala kingdom also. Sōmēśvara, probably in order to safeguard his interests in the Kannada as well as the Tamil countries, divided his kingdom among his two sons, Narasimha III and Rāmanātha, assigning the northern portion to the former and the southern to the latter. This resulted in the weakening of the Hoysala power and Mahādēva decided to take advantage of it. Some time before March, 1271 A. D., he led an expedition into the Hoysala country. The Hoysala records of this date state that Mahādēva had to flee from the battlefield, but this does not seem to be the fact. The existence of several Sēuṇa records in the Chitradurga district indicate that Mahādēva was successful to an extent in this campaign.

Among the feudatory chiefs, Silāhāra Sōmēśvara and Kadamba Kāvadēva appear to have turned hostile. But both were promptly put down by Mahādēva. The Śilāhāra chief probably also lost his life in the fight that ensued.

Āmaṇa (1271 A. D.)

Mahādēva lived till the middle of 1271 A. D. His death was followed by another struggle for power in the Sēuṇa family, the third in the series. Kannara, the elder brother of Mahādēva had a son named Rāmachandra and he was the natural heir to the throne. But Āmaṇa, son of Mahādēva, set aside his claims and himself became the king. Naturally therefore,

Rāmachandra had to fight for his right to the throne. He contrived to get Āmaṇa killed through a conspiracy and seized the throne A vague reference in the *Mahānubhāva* works indicates that Hoysala Narasimha III sided with Āmaṇa. Even if this was a fact it was of little consequence.

Rāmachandra (1271-1312 A D)

Rāmachandra ascended the throne towards the end of 1271 A. D. Soon after, he started on his military campaigns He zealously revived the traditional enmity between his family and that of the Hoysalas The first campaign he led against the latter was sometime before 1275 A D in which, however, he did not succeed In 1276 A D again, the Sēuṇa army marched into the Hoysala territory, this time quite close to the Hoysaḷa capital Dōrasamudra, and camped at Belavādi which is about four and a half miles from that city The famous generals Sāluva Tikka and Haripāla led the Sēuna army The Hoysala general lost his life in the battle, but succeeded in foiling the plans of Sāluva Tikka whose design was to capture Dōrasamudra. The Sēuṇa generals had to return empty handed.

Mummadi Singeva, the chief of Kummata was a source of trouble to Rāmachandra. The latter sent his general Chauṇḍarasa, in the beginning of 1280 A. D to put him down. Chauṇḍarasa lost the battle and his life also in this encounter In 1282 A.D. again, Kannaradēva, another general of Rāmachandra attacked Kummata, but to no effect In 1287 A D. for a third time the Sēuṇa army marched against Kummaṭa and this time Mummaḍi Singeya was made to accept the suzerainty of the Sēuṇa king.

In Gujarat, on the northern borders of the Sēuṇa kingdom Vāghēla Arjuna had to face an attack by Rāmachandra Arjuna's general Vīsaladēva stopped the Sēuṇa army on the banks of the Narmada and the fight that ensued was advantageous to neither party.

Rāmachandra was not in a mood to have friendly relations with his eastern neighbours, the Kākatīyas. He was not only

hostile to the latter, but he aided Ambadēva, a former subordinate of the Kākatīya, who had now risen in revolt against them. This enraged the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra, the grandson of Rudrāmbā, who had defeated Mahādēva earlier. Pratāparudra, after putting down the rebel Ambadēva, decided to teach a lesson to Rāmachandra He sent an army under his general Vitthala-daṇḍanāyaka who penetrated into the Seuṇa country as far as Raichur and built a fort there An inscription of 1294 A D. recording this event is found on a wall of the Raichur fort testifying to the defeat of Rāmachandra Some petty chiefs like those of Bhāṇḍārā and Māhima, were also subdued by Rāmachandra.

Such internecine wars and unending battles only served to exhaust these kingdoms and dissipate their resources, and this in turn made way for invasions from the alien north Indian rulers who exploited such weakness and disunity to their benefit The first such invader was Ala-ud-din, nephew of Jalal-ud-din Khilji, Sultan of Delhi

Ala-ud-din was ambitious and able. He had been appointed governor of the small province of Khera, much to his chagrin, for, this was too insignificant an office for the young man who aspired for the throne of Delhi. He was determined to build up an army and adequate resources for making a bid for the imperial throne. Having come to know of the enormous wealth of the southern states, especially of Dēvagiri, he was eager to raid these kingdoms, but his uncle, the Sultan, would not permit him. And he was ignorant also of the military strength of the king of Dēvagiri.

Ala-ud-din obtained permission of the Sultan to proceed against Chanderi in order to quell a supposed disturbance there and marched out in 1295 A D. This enabled him to augment his army, and then he proceeded southwards To allay suspicions about his intentions, he gave out to the local chiefs that, being dissatisfied with the policy of the Sultan of Delhi, he was going to offer his services to the Raja of Tilling and that he harboured no evil intentions against any Hindu ruler. Having thus

surreptitiously moved through Gujarat, he reached Elichpur in Amaravati district of present Maharashtra and from there moved down towards Dēvagiri. As misfortune would have it, at that time the major portion of Rāmachandra's army, with his son Singhana III, was away from the capital A chief by name Kānhā (i. e Kannara or Krishṇa) tried to oppose the Muslim invader, but he was easily defeated Ala-ud-din reached Dēvagiri and laid seige to the fort Rāmachandra could not stand the assault for long and after much havoc caused by the enemy, he sued for peace and purchased it at the cost of enormous gold and other materials.

Further misfortune befell Dēvagiri When Ala-ud-din was to leave Dēvagiri, Singhana III arrived with his army and notwithstanding the agreement between his father and the invader, he attacked the latter This enraged Ala-ud-din who plundered Dēvagiri with a vengeance and the Sēuṇa king had to submit to the humiliation As a result of a fresh treaty, Ala-ud-din secured more treasure and it was agreed that Rāmachandra would send him, as annual tribute, the revenue of Elichpur district and that he would permit a Muslim garrison to be stationed at Elichpur

Having made himself powerful enough to face any contingency Ala-ud-din went to meet the irate Sultan Earnest pleading and presents from the nephew made the Sultan relent, and the latter was killed while in the act of embracing the seemingly repentant nephew. Ala-ud-din seized the throne in 1296 A. D.

The incapable Rāmachandra learnt nothing from this loss, humiliation and disgrace. Instead of making active preparations against any further invasion of his country by the Sultan's army, he dissipated his military resources by protracted wars against the Hoysaḷa king, between 1301 and 1304 A. D. Thus, he made the way smooth for further Muslim inroads and ultimate conquest.

Ala-ud-din planned another invasion of the south in about 1304 A. D, the target this time being Warangal, the capital of

the Kākatīyas. However, his intentions of plundering the city were foiled by the brave defence put up by the Kākatīya Pratāparudra Fakruddin Jauna and Chhajju, the leaders of the Muslim army had to return without any gain

Soon, Ala ud-din planned a second invasion of Dēvagiri with the pretext that Rāmachandra was guilty of insubordination and had failed to send tributes to Delhi The real reason however was that he wanted wealth, particularly to face the enemies—the Mongols and the Rajputs around him—and he knew he would get that wealth by plundering Dēvagiri He chose Malik Kafur to lead his army and the latter reached Dēvagiri in March 1307 A. D. As expected, the invader was too strong for Rāmachandra who was then taken captive and carried away to Delhi His son Singhana III fled from the battlefield Rāmachandra was sent back to his kingdom with all honours, but he lost his independence and became a puppet in the hands of the ruler of Delhi

Ala-ud-din was not slow in exploiting this situation In order to avenge the defeat at Warangal, he sent Malik Kafur again in 1309 A D , and this time he could rely upon the assistance of Rāmachandra On the way to Warangal, the Muslim army camped at Dēvagiri and Rāmachandra provided it with all the facilities. After a successful plunder of Warangal, Malik Kafur returned to Delhi in 1310 A. D.

Ala-ud-din would not leave the southern kingdoms in peace. He sent Malik Kafur once again to invade Dōrasamudra and then Ma'bar (i. e. Coromandal coast) Malik Kafur reached Dēvagiri in February 1311 A. D. After a short rest, he proceeded to the Hoysala capital Dōrasamudra, being assisted by one of Rāmachandra's generals, Paraśurāma Dalavāyi Towards the end of that month, the plunder of the Hoysala capital was complete and Ballāla III had to submit to the invader. Kafur then marched ahead to Ma'bar but he had to face a defeat. Yet, collecting large booty, he returned to Delhi in October 1312 A. D.

Rāmachandra did not live long after this His last days were unhappy. He died some time in the latter half of 1312 A. D.

Singhaṇa III (1312–1313 A D)

Rāmachandra was succeeded by his son Singhaṇa III who had already faced the Muslim invasion twice before Yet, in trying to regain his independence, he only invited the Delhi invasion once more He defied the Delhi authority and stopped sending tributes. This was sufficient to enrage Ala-ud-din and Malik Kafur was on the march again In 1313 A. D. Singhaṇa III tried to oppose the Muslim hordes under Malik Kafur He was, however, defeated, captured and finally put to death.

Some sources refer to a Bhillama as a second son of Rāmachandra There are no lithic records to corroborate this Even if there was such a prince, he must have held an insignificant office later under the Muslim governors.

Some loyal chiefs who owed allegiance to the Sēuṇa throne made attempts to oust the intruder who had not still firmly settled in the Sēuṇa country. Such attempts, however, ended only in failure. One such chief who revolted was Mallidēva, said to be a son of Rāmachandra Kampiladēva of Kummaṭa was another chief that raised the standard of revolt

The political confusion in Delhi consequent on the return of Malik Kafur and the illness of Sultan Ala-ud-din emboldened Haripāladēva, the son-in-law of Rāmachandra, to make an attempt to retrieve the broken fortunes of the Sēuṇa kingdom. Rivalries for the throne had commenced as soon as Ala-ud-din fell ill and following his death, Malik Kafur managed to set up Shihabuddin Umar, the youngest son of Ala-ud-din, as the Sultan in 1316 A. D. and appointed himself regent. But the verv next year Mubarak Khan, the third son of Ala-ud-din, killed Shihabuddin and became the Sultan. During this period there were revolts in Gujarat and also in Dēvagiri wherein Haripāladēva figured prominently.

Having made arrangements for the governance of Gujarat, Mubarak personally proceeded against Dēvagiri in 1318 A. D. He reached Dēvagiri after two months' march. Haripāla. assisted by a chief named Rāghava who is said to have been a minister of Rāmachandra, opposed Mubarak, but in vain. Rāghava fled into the woods and Haripāla was taken captive and put to death.

Mubarak camped long in Dēvagiri to settle the conditions there. He set up military bases at Gulbarga, Sagar and other places and after appointing Malik-yak-laky the governor of the area, he left for Delhi Singhaṇa III was succeeded by his son Mallugi III who probably held some petty chieftaincy in the Dhulia area under Muhammad-bin Tughluk as late as 1334 A. D. This is suggested by an inscription of this date, near Dhulia in Maharashtra.

Thus came to an end the eventful rule of the Sēüṇas. The Muslim invasions proved to be disastrous not only to the Sēuṇa kingdom, but also to the neighbouring states. The danger could have been warded off, with a little forethought on the part of these kings and greater responsibility lay on the Sēuṇas. Situated on the northern borders of the Deccan, their kingdom offered entrance to the south and once it became weak, the hordes of invasions could not be checked. The end of the Sēuṇa kingdom is a pathetic example of the consequences of disunity and unseemly bickerings among the Hindu rulers even in the face of a common danger. If Rāmachandra's son Singhaṇa was able to cause terror in the army of Ala-ud-din during the latter's first invasion, and when the Kākatīya king had been able to push back Malik Kafur, it would certainly not have been difficult for a combined army of the Sēuṇa, Kākatīya and Hoysala kings to keep the Sultan in fear of their might and make him give up thoughts of an invasion of the south. But, these Deccan rulers continued their quarrels even inspite of an imminent Muslim invasion and brought upon themselves the catastrophe which followed.

The extent of the Sēuṇa kingdom

The Sēuṇas started their career as feudatory chiefs in the area around Sinnar in Nasik district, which was then known as Sēuṇadēśa. In course of time, as feudatories of the Later Chālukyas, they held sway upto the Narmadā in the north and the Gōdāvarī in the south. With the assumption of independence after the extinction of the Chālukya power, the Sēuṇas occupied the whole of the Chālukya kingdom upto the river Tungabhadrā during the time of Singhaṇa II. The inscriptions of later kings are found as far south as Chitradurga district and in the western part of Kurnool and Anantapur districts. Thus the Sēuṇa kingdom in its hey-day comprised parts of Gujarat upto the Narmadā, the whole of Maharashtra State and major part of Mysore State up to Chitradurga district in the south and western part of Kurnool and Anantapur districts of Andhra Pradesh. The Arabian sea formed its western boundary.

The Sēuṇa Phase

Few Great Rulers

Stepping forth soon after the eventful epoch of the mighty Chālukyas, the Sēuṇas rather cut a pigmy image. Remaining in a subordinate position for over three centuries, the dynasty secured an independent status about the end of the twelfth century. Their rise was facilitated by the misfortune that befell the Chālukya empire. This situation was first exploited by the adventurous Bhillama V and then by the ambitious Singhaṇa II. Excepting these two, hardly any other ruler among the remaining five possessed high calibre and qualities of great monarchs. However, we may appreciate the heroism, perseverance and military fervour exhibited by some of the rulers in their struggle for power.

Incessant Hostilities

The time, energy and resources of the Sēuṇas after their independence were spent mostly in fighting against the

neighbouring kings, particularly the Hoysalas with whom they carried on incessant hostilities In their wars with the Hoysalas, many a time, it was the Sēuṇas who were the aggressors. The collapse of the Sēuṇa power which stood at the gateway as it were, opened the floodgates of Muslim aggression in the whole of South India.

Stagnation and Setback

During this rule Karnataka experienced stagnation, setback and deterioration in several spheres. Primarily, the government and administrative machinery was violently shaken on account of political commotions, therefore some novel features appear to have been introduced to tide over the difficulties For instance, as an emergency measure a new category of high officers with centralised powers, called *Sarvādhikāri*, came into existence

In regard to the religious and social orders, submission to traditional conservatism and devotion to orthodox ways gained the upper hand. Doctrines hardened and dogmas stiffened Conventional modes strengthened their hold on the religious faiths a social structure of castes and sects.

Mahānubhāva Sect

On this background we can account for the rise and limited spread of the esoteric sect of Mahānubhāvas founded by Chakradhara. This new movement based on the doctrine of devotion to God Kṛishṇa made no distinction of caste and community among its followers. On account of the unorthodox character of its teachings, its followers had to live and move incognito.

Encouragement to Sanskrit

Traditional Sanskrit learning was encouraged and scholars enjoyed royal patronage. Treatises on sacramental lore, astrology, medicine, music and other branches of knowledge were composed. Among such, Śārṅgadēva's treatise on music, the *Sangītaratnākara*, dealing with the southern as well as northern systems, is a

valuable contribution. In the reign of Singhaṇa was founded a college for the study of the *Siddhānt iśirōmaṇi*, a treatise on astronomy and other works of the renowned scholar and mathematician Bhāskarāchārya, by the latter's grandson Chāngadēva. Anantadēva and Jalhaṇa are two other notable authors. Hēmādri, a royal protege and Chief Secretary was a versatile scholar. He was instrumental in bringing out a weighty compendium named *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi* This encyclopaedia of religion and ethics contains a fund of information on a variety of subjects like religious rites and observances, performance of gifts and pilgrimages etc Many of such works were of the nature of commentaries on and mplifications of earlier treatises.

Predominance of Kannada

A large number of Kannada inscriptions testifying to the predominance of Kannada language and literature in the Sēuṇa kingdom have come to light. They contain some good prose and poetic passages, mostly of the conventional type. The epigraphs are useful for the study of regional history, geography and Kannada language of the period. Among the meagre number of literary works may be noted Kamalabhava's *Śāntēśvara-purāṇa*, Āchaṇṇa's *Vardhamāna-purāṇa* and Chauṇḍarasa's *Abhinavadaśakumāracharita* We may also mention Amugidēvayya, a Vīraśaiva author of Vachanas and follower of Basava, who lived till the time of Singhaṇa II

Architecture

Temples were erected in good number and though the pattern followed was that of the Chālukya architects, much of the beauty, unity and vigour of the originals was sacrificed in the imitation. These monuments are commonly known by the peculiar Marathi-like name Hēmāḍapantī shrines after their alleged author Hēmādri or Hēmāḍapant. The term Hēmādri or Hēmāḍa is obviously derived from the classical Kannada epithet Permāḍi connoting eminent person. Hēmāḍapant is almost a northern counterpart of the southern Jakkaṇāchāri, both of whom attained a semi-legendary position in folk-lore and popular imagination.

Karnataka Divided

The Sēuṇa rule proved uncongenial for the political and cultural identity of the entire Kannada land and the people. The spirit of unity and integration infused by Pulakēśi II in the seventh century, and maintained and nurtured by his immediate successors and the rulers of the succeeding dynasties for over five centuries, received a setback at this period. The unending enmity and the consequent conflicts and clashes that raged among the forces of the Sēuṇas and the Hoysalas, broke the harmony of national feeling that had reigned in the northern and southern areas of Karnataka, which were now under the rule of two different dynasties. As a result, the relations between the peoples of the north and the south of the Tungabhadrā were estranged This gulf widened in course of time when the Vijayanagara empire was established in the territory south of the river, the northern area ever remaining under the domination of the alien Bahmani kings and their successors. Another factor that separated the south from the north was the rise and growth of Marathi language and literature which carved out its individuality in the areas around and beyond the river Gōdāvarī This undermined the position of Kannada which dwindled and shrank in the northern part of the Sēuṇa kingdom.

The Sēuṇa Genealogy

(*continued*)

Sēuṇachandra II
(c 1068-1090 A D)
Āirammadēva
(c. 1080-1110 A D.)
Singhaṇa I
(c 1110-1145 A D.)
Mallugi I
(c 1145-1155 A D.)
Amaragāngēya
(c. 1150 A D)
Gōvindarāja
(c. 1155 A. D.)
Mallugi II
(c. 1155-1165 A.D)
Kālīyaballāla
(c. 1165-1173 A D.)
son
(Name not known)
Bhillama V
(1173-1192 A D.)
Jaitugi I
(1192-1199 A. D.)
Singhana II
(1199-1247 A. D.)
Jaitugi II
Kannara
(1247-1261 A. D.)
Rāmachandra
(1271-1312 A. D.)
Mahādēva
(1261-1271 A. D.)
Āmaṇa
(1271 A. D.)

Rāmachandra
(1271-1312 A. D.)
Singhaṇa III
(1312-1313 A. D.)
Mullugi III
Bhillama VI (?)
Mallidēva (?)

(continued)

CHAPTER VIII

THE HOYSALAS

[C. 1000–1346 A. D.]

Advent

While the Sêuṇas were gaining hold over the territories to the north of the Tungabhadrā, rulers of another Kannada family were strengthening themselves in the southern regions and contended with the Sêuṇas for the occupation of the Chālukya territory. These were the Hoysalas who ruled over the southern part of Karnataka, contemporaneously with the Sēunas from the 12th to the 14th centuries After the overthrow of the Gangas, parts of their territory known as Gangavādi fell into the hands of the Chōlas. The Chengālvas and the Kongalvas and chiefs of the Nolamba family were ruling over that area as subordinates of the Chōlas in the 10th–11th centuries It was in the 11th century that the Hoysalas rose to power by subduing the local chiefs in the western region and founding a principality of their own. Later, they succeeded in driving away the Chōla governors from the Kannada country. In this they were encouraged by the Chālukyas whose suzerainty they had accepted. But the ambitious chiefs of the family like Vishṇuvardhana could not remain in subordination for long and they defied the Chālukya authority whenever an opportunity arose. The Kalachuri usurpation of the Chālukya sovereignty provided them a favourable situation to declare their independence. When once they established a kingdom of their own, they came into conflict with other powers who were also aspiring to seize the territories in the former Chālukya dominions.

Origin

Like the Sêuṇas, the Hoysalas also claim their descent from Yadu and call themselves the Yādavas. The conventional titles *Yādavanārāyaṇa* and *Dvārāvatī-puravarādhīśvara* are common to

the Sēuṇas as well as to the Hoysalas The early members of both the families were feudatory chiefs and they cherished a similar ambition, viz. mastery over the erstwhile Chālukya territory While the Sēuṇas belonged to the plains above the Tungabhadrā, the Hoysala homeland lay in the Sahyādri mountain region below that river The ancestors of the Hoysala family belonged to the village Sosavur, sanskritised as Śaśakapura, which is identified with Angadi in Chikmagalur district.

The origin of the Hoysalas also is mixed with legends. The story relating to the founder of the kingdom named Sala, tries to explain the family designation Hoysala by splitting the term into *poy* or *hoy* and *sala* According to this tale, Sala, a young student was directed by his teacher who asked him to smash a tiger (*poy-sala* i e 'smash, oh Sala). when it rushed in the precincts of the temple of goddess Vāsantika at Sosavur This account became so popular that it is narrated in all the elaborate Hoysala epigraphs which describe the hero Sala as the originator of the family. The event gained such a prominence that the figure representing the story of Sala attacking the tiger with a dagger, became the royal emblem of the family and it is seen almost on every Hoysala temple

Some scholars have tried to identify Sala with Nṛpa Kāma or king Kāma, an early chief of the family figuring in the genealogical accounts of Hoysala epigraphs of the later period. But, it is difficult to accept this equation, since the inscriptions do not furnish any reliable evidence on this point. Whereas Sala's identity is clouded amidst legends, it is possible to associate Kāma with some historical events. Hence, we have to assume that this Kāma was removed from Saḷa by a period of time. It is interesting to note in this context the earlier occurrence of the expression *Poysaḷa* as an epithet of a Nolamba chief who lived about the middle of the 10th century

Kāma (c 1000-1045 A. D)

From the epigraphical sources we hear of a Hoysala chief in 1006 A D He is seen combatting Aprameya, a general in the

service of the Chōla army Though the name of this chief is not disclosed, it is certain that by this time this Hoysala had carved out a small principality of his own in the hilly tract around Sosavūr. The battle was fought near Kalliyur in the vicinity of Talakād. With the fall of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the power of the Gangas waned and they succumbed to the onslaughts of the Chōlas. Minor chiefs of the area continued their existence by becoming the subordinates of the Chōla governers It appears, at this time the unnamed Hoysala chief thought it fit to challenge the alien Chōla and establish himself in Gangavādi. This explains the fight between the two near Talakāḍ

This unnamed chief who faced the Chōla general can be identified with king Kāma or Nṛipa Kāma, the first Hoysala chief who is mentioned in later epigraphs In his endeavour to assert himself in the territory, he came in direct conflict with the Chōla subordinates This must have annoyed the Chōla king, Rājēndra Chōla, for, in about 1022 A D he sent his general Kannama to suppress Kāma That the Chōla was not successful in completely subduing the Hoysala is clear from the fact that once again, in 1026 A. D, another attempt was made by the Chōla feudatory, the Kongālva chief, Rājēndra-chōla-pṛithvīmahārāja Kongālva, to subdue Kāma The battle was fought near Maṇṇe where the Hoysala chief suffered a defeat. The conflict, however, did not end and Kāma appears to have sought the assistance of the Kadamba chiefs in his struggle. In 1027 A. D., a year after the encounter of Maṇṇe we see Kāma proceeding to assist the Kadambas, whose territory had been invaded by the Chōlas.

It is difficult to assess the results of such moves. But certainly the Hoysala chief was attracting the attention of the ruling kings and his prestige was growing in the area. Moving down from the hilly tract to the plains, the ambitious chief planned to build up a kingdom of his own

Vinayāditya (c 1045–1098 A D)

Kāma was succeeded by his son Vinayāditya, though we do not know when exactly the latter came to power. The earliest record of Vinayāditya is dated 1047 A D. sometime before which he must have succeeded his father There are no records for the intervening period of 20 years between 1027 A. D., the last known date for Kāma and 1047 A D. This could perhaps be explained by assuming that there were no events worth recording. Sometime between these two dates Vinayāditya succeeded his father. By 1047 A D, however, the Hoysala chiefs had been recognised as an influential power. Vinayāditya extended his sway over a major part of Gangavāḍi His was a buffer state in between the Chālukya and the Chōla kingdoms. For this reason Chālukya Sōmēśvara I maintained friendly relations with the Hoysala chief and even assisted him in his fights against the Chōlas. There are no specific records that refer to the alliance between the two. But it has been surmised that Hoysalamahādēvī, a queen of Sōmēśvara I, was a daughter or a sister of Vinayāditya. As stated earlier, when Rājēndra-chōla attacked the fort of Kummaṭa, on his way back after the battle of Koppam, Sōmēśvara rushed to the help of the Hoysala and rid the fort of the enemy's menace

In the latter part of his rule, the Hoysala chief rendered remarkable service to his overlord Chālukya Sōmēśvara II by assisting him in driving out the Paramāra king Jayasiṁha who had raided the Chālukya borders Ereyanga, son of Vinayāditya played a great role in this expedition when he triumphed over the Paramāra king and even pursued him upto his capital. This was the first military exploit of this young prince and he must have been justly proud of it The Hoysala inscriptions very enthusiastically glorify the heroism of Ereyanga in this and other battles

In 1077 A. D. Vikramāditya VI occupied the Chālukya throne after overthrowing his elder brother. In this he received help from several chiefs and feudatories of whom Hoysaḷa

Vinayāditya was one Ereyanga continued to serve the new overlord as faithfully as he had served his predecessor and took part in his military operations. Records describe his victories against the Malepas and the Kalinga and the Chōla kings He is also credited with the capture of Dhārā, besides Chakrakuṭa and Baḷeyavaṭṭaṇa. We have seen that Vikramāditya VI invaded the Mālava country and raided its capital thrice during his reign He finally succeeded in occupying portions of the Vengi country after defeating the Chōla king Kulōttunga I. Ereyanga probably assisted his master in these campaigns which took him to the Paramāra and Chōla countries It was when he was thus engaged that this Hoysala chief also attacked the famous fort of Chakrakuta in Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh and also raided Kalinga The identity of Baleyavaṭṭaṇa is not certain. It is conjectured to be a town on the eastern sea-shore Ereyanga was accompanied by his son Vishṇuvardhana in at least some of these campaigns

Vinayāditya ruled for a long period of over fifty years. In this period, he won the appreciation of his liege-lord and consequently also expanded his territory During his period Belur, Vēlāpura of the inscriptions, in Hassan district, was the Hoysala capital. It was changed to Dōrasamudra, modern Halebīdu, during the period of his grand-son Vishṇuvardhana. Vinayāditya consolidated his position and when his son succeeded him in about 1098 A. D , the Hoysalas had become powerful enough to gain recognition by the Chālukya king.

Ereyanga (1098–1100 A. D.)

Ereyanga was fairly old at the time when he succeeded to the throne and his sons also were grown up by then As seen above, he had a brilliant career as a prince He ruled for a short period of two years till 1100 A. D.

Ereyanga had two wives, Echaladēvī and Mahādēvi and three sons—Ballāla I, Vishṇuvardhana or Biṭṭiga and Udayāditya

Ballāḷa I (1100–1108 A. D.)

Ballāla, the eldest son of Ereyanga was also quite advanced in age when he ascended the throne. Yet, his rule proved to be eventful. Till the days of Ereyanga, the relations between the Chālukyas and the Hoysalas were cordial Ballāla inherited a kingdom which comprised of Konkana, Bayalnād and Sāvimale Later records suggest that Vinayādityа's kingdom also extended over Ālvakhēda and Talakād, but this seems to be far from truth. Ālvakhēda appears to have come under the Hoysala sway in the reign-period of Ballāla, while Talakāḍ was conquered by Vishnuvardhana.

Ballāla's predecessors had professed allegiance to the Chālukyas and had rendered significant service But now Ballāla I thought of independence Vikramādityа's reign was comparatively peaceful and this probably made Ballāla feel that his overlord was meek It is also likely that the Chālukya king who had gauged the strength of these Hoysala chiefs and seen them steadily building up their power, started to suspect their loyalty. Hence, it looked as though he was waiting for an opportunity to curb their movements

In any case, in the very beginning of his rule, Ballāla had to face the attack of Jagaddēva, the Paramāra prince who had left his country and stayed in the Kolanupāka (Kollipāke) area in Andhra as a Chālukya subordinate As already stated, this prince was deeply attached to Vikramāditya Inscriptions speak of very intimate and affectionate relationship between the two.

There is evidence to show that Vikramāditya sent Jagaddēva to attack the Hoysala territory. But, he did not meet with the expected result Ballāḷa and his brothers Vishṇuvardhana and Udayāditya offered stiff resistance. The Hoysala records picture a spirited battle fought between the two, in which finally Ballāla gained an upper hand. He struck terror in the Chālukya forces and pushed them back. The Hoysala brothers exhibited great military prowess in this battle which might have taken place in c. 1100 A. D. The obvious result of Jagaddēva's inroad

was that the relations between the Hoysalas and the Chālukyas became strained

The victory over Jagaddēva encouraged Ballāla to launch a scheme of expansion of his territories. The first victims of his conquest were the Chengālvas who were a petty clan of chieftains ruling over some areas in the modern Coorg and Mysore districts. About 1103 A D these chiefs, who were a source of constant trouble, were subdued and forced to accept his authority. He also appears to have occupied Alvakhēda after this Thereafter, Ballāla proceeded against the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi and also crossed the Tungbhadrā in an effort to occupy the Belvola country

Vikramāditya who had not taken very serious notice of the movement of the Hoysalas till then, was now enraged by the open violation of his authority. It therefore appears that he sent his feudatory, Achugi II of the Sinda family of Erambarage This chief proceeded against the rebel and in a severe engagement defeated the Hoysala and drove him back to his capital

This was a stunning blow to the enthusiastic Ballāla. This also forced him to submit finally to Chālukya suzerainty. Ballāla I lived for about four years after this event. He had no sons to succeed him As late as 1103 A D. he married three daughters of his subordinate chief Mariyāne Yet, he died without issue. He was succeeded by his younger brother Vishṇuvardhana who ascended the throne about 1108 A. D.

Vishṇuvardhana (1108–1152 A. D)

Soon after his accession to the throne Vishṇuvardhana launched a campaign of conquest in the south to completely subjugate Gangavādi and Nolambavādi Though Ballāla claimed to be the ruler of Gangavādi, many of its southern parts like Talakāḍ and Kolar were still under the Chōlas. Vishṇuvardhana first marched southwards against Talakāḍ This area which had been a part of the Chōla country, was being governed by the Adigaimān chiefs of Tagadur, who were

subordinates of the Chōlas. Its governoı refused to surrendᵣ r to Gangarāja, the Hoysala general who, therefore attacked Talakāḍ and met the Chōla army led by Aḍiyama The battle that followed was favourable to Gangarāja who defeated his opponent and put to flight his army Dāmōdara and Narasingavarma, two other Chōla generals also met a similar fate. While the former fled to Kānchi, the latter was put to death. Thereafter, Vishṇuvardhana proceeded towards Kolar and Nangili, which areas fell into his hands easily Some records of Visnṇuvardhana claim that after this he proceeded upto Kānchi, captured it and from there marched towards Rāmēśvara, where he fought with the Pāṇḍyas of Madura There is evidence to show that he used to his advantage the victory against the Chōla governor of Talakāḍ and pushed forward upto Kānchi But the statements in the records that Vishṇuvardhana occupied this capital or proceeded as far as Rāmēśvara, appear to be more eulogistic than factual. That this expedition resulted in his occupation of the whole of Gangavāḍi area about 1116 A D. is however, clear.

After his conquest of Gangavāḍi, Vishṇuvardhana appears to have attacked and subdued the Kongālvas and the Nidugal Chōlas, who were subordinates of the Chōlas His expeditions to the Nīlagiris and the Kongu country helped in the extension of the Hoysala authority over Salem-Coimbatore region.

Having thus established himself in Gangavāḍi, Vishṇuvardhana put to effect his plan for declaring independence. The series of victories that he had to his credit made him feel strong enough to throw off Chālukya allegiance though it was nominal. By then Vikramāditya VI was sufficiently old and had pursued a policy of peace, which further encouraged Vishṇuvardhana to take the offensive. Cautiously, he proceeded against the Chālukya feudatories, of whom the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi became the first victims.

These chiefs were governing the Nolambavādi province which he invaded. The battle was fought at Lumme, a stronghold of the Nolamba territory. It was favourable to the Hoysala, who thereafter took the title *Nolambavāḍigonda* (the conqueror of Nolambavāḍi). This opened out for him the way to the interior of the Chālukya territory First, he took Ballāre (i. e Bellary), whereafter, crossing the Tungabhadrā he captured the fort of Kummaṭa which had apparently been lost by the Hoysalas in the meantime. From there he moved westwards. That his attack of the area had the desired effect, is clear from his inscription found near Gadag which was the central place cf Belvola.

This attack upon Belvola was clearly an act of aggression which the Chālukya ruler could not tolerate. He had been all the while watching the movements of this Hoysala subordinate. As the menace now came nearer home, the Chālukya had to act. So, he planned a united attack over Vishṇuvardhana by assembling the armies of some of his feudatories. A battle ensued at Kaṇṇegāl in 1118 A. D, when the Hoysala general Gangarāja once again displayed his valour and routed the enemies.

Elated by this victory Vishṇuvardhana stepped up his expansionist activities and attacked the territories of the Kadambas of Hāngal and captured that fort. The confusion in the country thus created by Vishṇuvardhana, encouraged the Pāṇḍyas of Uchchangi and the Kadambas of Goa also to proclaim their independence. In 1120 A D a great battle was fought at Halasur in Shimoga district between Boppaṇa, formerly a Chālukya general who had revolted and joined Vishṇuvardhana, and Bhujabalaganga-permāḍidēva, a Chālukya subordinate governing the Maṇḍali province near Banavāsi. Nanniganga-permāḍidēva, the son of the latter, lost his life in this battle. This is an indication of the serious nature of the Hoysala's revolt.

This made Vikramāditya intensify his campaign with adequate force. This time he received able assistance from his

trusted feudatories of the Sinda family, Āchugi II and his son Permāḍi. This was a decisive step which put down Vishṇuvardhana who had not only to forgo the new territories, but also to struggle hard to retain his own. The Sinda records state that at the command of Vikramāditya Āchugi II dislodged and prevailed against the Hoysaḷa, took Goa, killed Lakshma in battle, valorously pursued the Pāṇḍya, dispersed the Malepas and seized upon Konkaṇa. His son Perma is said to have beseiged Dōrasamudra and pursued Vishṇuvardhana till he arrived at Vēlāpura and took that city. This was sometime about 1122 A.D.

Obviously Vishṇuvardhana had underrated the strength of his overlord who thus finally struck him down mercilessly. The Hoysala chief could not revive his activities till the death of Vikramāditya. Even the Pāṇḍyas and the Kadambas of Goa were punished for their subversive activities. Jayakēśi II of Goa made peace with Vikramāditya who gave him in marriage his daughter Maiḷaladēvī.

About 1122 A. D. Vikramāditya was at Banavāsi probably to watch the situation. After about five years, this great king breathed his last and was succeeded by his son Sōmēśvara III. The defeat Vishṇuvardhana suffered at the hands of Sinda Āchugi made him accept and acknowledge Chālukya suzerainty for over a decade, even during the reign of Sōmēśvara III. Unfortunately troubles had developed nearer home also. Vikramachōla, the successor of Kulōttunga I of the Chōla kingdom, attempted to restore his power in Gangavāḍi and succeeded in recovering some parts of Kolar district This as also the death in 1123-24 A D of his brother Udayāditya who was looking after Gangavāḍi during his absence, diverted Vishnuvardhana's attention and he had to give up his ambitious schemes for a while and look to the home affairs. He went to Talakāḍ to see that the newly acquired territory was well safeguarded against the aggression of the Chōḷas.

Sōmēśvara III's succession to the throne no doubt encouraged Vishṇuvardhana to renew his activities, for, the new Chālukya king was essentially a man of peace and his interests lay more in literature and religion. Still, he could not make much head-way excepting some occasional raids into Hāngal and the adjoining areas of the Kadambas, which however yielded no fruit. But by about 1135 A. D., Vishṇuvardhana was ready once again to launch his attacks beyond the Tungabhadrā. Records ascribe to him the conquest of Hāngal and Uchchangi even by 1131 A. D., but he could not have firm hold on these. We find that the Kadamba chief Mallikārjuna had been in possession of the fort of Hāngal in 1135 A. D. However in 1136 A. D. Vishṇuvardhana scored an important victory over the Kadambas and captured Bankāpura. This fort as well as of Hāngal were the strongholds of the Kadamba chiefs who could not easily for go them. Sōmēśvara III's death in 1139 A. D. followed by the succession of Jagadēkamalla II, further strengthened Vishṇuvardhana's position in this area.

About this year Vishṇuvardhana again captured Hāngal and even Bankāpura. Thereafter he proceeded towards Lakkuṇḍi. We see him ruling from Hāngal in 1141 A. D. This fort had changed hands many times. But Mallikārjuna, the Kadamba chief of Hāngal, held to it steadfastly. However, by this year Vishṇuvardhana finally captured it. The Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla was not slow in undoing the Hoysala influence in the Banavāsi area. In 1143 A. D. Vishṇuvardhana led a great expedition against Māhalige, perhaps to face an enemy who might as well be Mallikārjuna, the Kadamba chief who was a feudatory of Jagadēkamalla.

The last years of Vishṇuvardhana's reign were eventful in northern Karnataka. Bijjala, the Kalachuri subordinate was s eadily rising in power; and finally in 1162 A. D. he overthrew Taila III, who had succeeded his brother Jagadēkamalla in about 1149 A. D. The Chālukyas lost their hold of the northern part of their kingdom and Banavāsi had now become their mainstay. The confused political condition enabled the Chālukya feudatories like the Kadambas of Goa and the Śilāhāras to assert their

independence. All this was a pressure on Vishṇuvardhana who subsequently lost his control over Banavāsi and Hāngal areas. Bankāpura, however, continued to be his secondary capital. A record of 1149 A. D. states that he was ruling over the territories of Gangavāḍi, Nolambavāḍi,, Banavāsi, Hāngal and Huligere, extending up to the river Krishṇā, from his capital at Bankāpura. Though some of these claims are exaggerated this points to the independent rule of Vishṇuvardhana

Visṇuvardhana ruled for over 40 years, till 1152 A. D. It may, however, be noted that there is no unanimous opinion regarding his last date. A record of 1142 A. D., engraved on a hero stone, refers to the death of a Hiriyarasa Biṭṭidēva, who is identified by some with Vishṇuvardhana, But this identification is doubtful. We have records of later dates up to 1152 A. D., which refer to Vishṇuvardhana as the ruling king It is more probable that he continued to rule till at least 1152 A. D., though we find him associating his son Narasimha with the administration of the kingdom during the closing years of his reign.

Vishṇuvardhana had several wives, foremost of them being Śāntaladēvī. Lakshmidēvī and Bammaladēvī were his other queens. Of these Lakshmidēvī was the mother of Narasimha who succeeded his father. Vishṇuvardhana had an elder son, Ballāḷadēva, who was looking after the affairs of the kingdom from the capital. But he died a premature death sometime before 1133 A. D., in which year Narasimha was born. The latter's birth coincided with one of the victories of Vishṇuvardhana. Hence, he named him Vijayanarasimhadēva. We find this prince associating himself with his father's rule even as early as 1140 A. D., since he was crowned as *yuvarāja* soon after his birth. At the time of his father's death, Narasimha was quite young.

In spite of the fact that Vikramāditya VI foiled his attempts to become independent, the achievements of Visṇuvardhana were not small. He was able to free the whole of Ganga-

vāḍi from the Chōḷa domination. His influence spread as far as Belvola and Bellary in the north and towards the latter part of his career he was practically independent.

Vishṇuvardhana was a staunch Vaishṇava, while his chief queen Śāntalā or Śāntaladēvi was a devout Jaina. This couple with divergent faiths thus provided for posterity, a fine example of mutual tolerance and harmonious living. Queen Śāntalā was known for her dexterity in fine arts also. His another queen Bammaladēvī took keen interest in the administration of the kingdom. We find her governing Āsandi–500 and Nīrgunda–500 districts.

Narasiṁha I (1152–1173 A. D.)

After Vishṇuvardhana his son Narasiṁha inherited the kingdom. He was not a worthy successor to his father. He bore the title *Jagadēkamalla* which, we know, was the name of his contemporary Chālukya emperor Jagadēkamalla II. The troubled political conditions could have been utilised by him not only to assert his own, but also to expand the territories he inherited, but he let go all the opportunities. Thus, for instance he lost control over Noḷambavāḍi, and his expeditions in the Tungabhadrā area also were a failure. Nearer home, the Chengālva and Kongālva chiefs rebelled. But they were subdued by his general Bōkimayya.

A more dangerous foe of the Hoysala was Kalachuri Bijjala. Banavāsi had now become the refuge of the Chālukya king Taila III. Hence, Bijjala planned to lead his forces into Banavāsi to subdue the chiefs who were still supporting the Chālukya. This brought the Kalachuris also into the Hoysala territory. About 1160 A. D., a battle was fought by Bammarasa, a feudatory of Bijjala who routed Narasiṁha's army and thereafter seized Banavāsi. Two years later we find again Bijjala camping at Baḷḷigāve to challenge Narasiṁha. Though the latter takes the credit for victory, it was definitely a set back to the Hoysala power around Banavāsi. Ekkalarasa, the chief of Uddhare who

describes himself as a *maṇḍalika* of the Hoysala, fought valiently against the Kalachuri subordinates. But Narasiṁha did not care to assist him either.

Rebellions broke out in the south also, where the Kongas of the Kongu country tried to overthrow the Hoysala authority. But timely intervention by the general Bōkimayya and the steadfast support of *mahāsāmanta* Uttamachōla, another feudatory, enabled the king to crush the revolts

All these disturbances, however did not prevent Narasiṁha from following an easy life His son Ballāla II was growing indignant about his father's passive attitude and finally, he decided to take the reins of the kingkom into his own hands Even from 1168 A. D we find Ballāla ruling the kingdom as *yuvarāja*. But later on, he actually rebelled against his father. Gathering a number of followers around him and collecting a sizeable army, he marched towards the capital itself. Narasiṁha made vain attempts to stop his son The Chengālva and the Kongālva rebel chiefs joined Ballāla who received able support also from a general named Hemmādi In June 1173 A. D. he marched triumphantly into the capital and the very next month crowned himself king We do not know what happended to Narasiṁha after this date Some records of 1174 A D and 1179 A. D., refer to him as the reigning king.

Narasiṁha's was an unsuccessful rule of missed opportunities, which he could have better utilised to consolidate his position. Echaladēvī was his crowned queen and the mother of Ballāla II.

Ballāḷa II (1173-1220 A D.)

What Narasiṁha lost was made good by Ballāla II. The Hoysaḷa kingdom reached the heights of its glory during his reign. With the ideal of an independent kingdom, cherished by his grandfather Vishnuvaradhana before him, Ballāla succeeded in expanding his territory in the north and established himself as sovereign ruler. The political changes that were swiftly taking place in the Chālukya kingdom helped him in this achievement.

The first few years of Ballāla's rule were spent in small skirmishes with the neighbouring chiefs The Chengālva and the Kongālva chiefs who had upheld his cause against his father, later on turned rebels. Ballāla however effectively put them down. A major event that took place in the following years was his defeat of the Pāṇḍyas and the conquest of Uchchangi. His attack on this fort in 1177 A. D. and his victory have been highly eulogised in the Hoysala epigraphs. Kāvadēva, the Pāṇḍya chief and his father Oḍeya were completely subdued, but were allowed to rule over their territory as his vassals Ballāḷa's next move was to attack the province of Banavāsi This was only in the nature of a raid. In 1178 A D. Hāngal came under his sway. He tried in vain to move further into Belvola He met with stiff opposition from Kalachuri Sankama. This king pushed back the Hoysala army to the south. Ballāla appears to have lost *Hāngal also in this battle, fought sometime in 1179 A. D.* This forced him to accept the overlordship of the Kalachuris, at least nominally.

However, the years that followed provided better opportunities for Ballāla to extend himself in Belvola. The Kalachuri power was on the wane and the Chālukyas, ousted by the Kalachuris, were trying to rise and ultimately, Tribhuvanamalla Sōmēśvara IV succeeded in regaining the Chālukya throne in about 1183 A. D. With the extinction of the Kalachuri power, an obstacle in Ballala's northern expansion was removed. He had now to face Sōmēśvara. It was just at this time that the Sēuṇas were pushing forth from the northern side to occupy the Chālukya kingdom In the initial stages Sōmēśvara successfully warded off the enemies on both the sides with the assistance of his heroic general Barma. But the pressure from Sēuṇa Bhillama V was particularly very strong and by 1184 A. D. Sōmēśvara had to yield to the pressure of Bhillama and retire to Jayantīpura or Banavāsi, the headquarters of his trusted feudatories, the Kadambas. This encouraged Ballāla II to press forward. Moving northwards, Ballāḷa first camped at Hallur in Hirekerur taluk of Dharwar district This place situated as it

was in a strategic position, became one of his headquarters for the time being From there he proceeded further and without much difficulty occupied a major portion of Belvola by about 1189 A D

This was a new phase in the history of Karnataka The Sēunas and the Hoysalas both of whom were feudatories of the Chalukyas, now came face to face as the rival claimants for the territory of their erstwhile masters The history that follows is partly the history of the conflict between these two powers From this period Karnataka came to be apportioned between these two powers on account of the political situation that took shape

As seen in the previous chapter, Bhillama established himself as an independent ruler in the northern part of the Chalukya kingdom by 1186 A D. Within the next three years he moved further south in Belvola which had by then been occupied by Ballala II Consequently, the two rulers had to measure their strength. A fierce battle was fought near Soratūr in Gadag taluk in 1190 A D. Ballāla not only emerged victorious in this fight, but drove the enemy whose army was pursued beyond Lokkigundi (modern Lakkundi) Ballala thereafter firmly settled in Belvola, with Lokkigundi as his stronghold The battle of Soratūr was a turning point in his carrer It brought to him the most coveted region, Belvola, and enabled him to declare himself a mighty sovereign, He now started counting his regnal years afresh and assumed imperial titles

The triumph over Bhillama encouraged Ballāla to further expand his territory He swiftly moved into Raichur district where he captured important strongholds like Kukkanūr and Mānvi He also subdued the Sindas of Yelbarga, in the same district who were the most devoted feudatories of the Chālukyas and had more than once foiled Vishnuvardhana s attempts to occupy Belvola Turning eastwards Ballāla acquired portions of Raichur-Bellary area

However, Ballaḷa could not cross the Malaprabhā since the area north of that river was the stronghold of Sēuṇa Bhillama. Not all the chiefs in the Raichur area accepted Ballāla's overlordship. We find, for instance, the Kadamba chiefs of Karaḍkal, in the Lingsugur taluk, accept the supremacy of Bhillama, while even as late as 1196 A. D. the Haihayas of Moraṭa i e Mallaṭ in the Manvi taluk, describe themselves as subordinates of the Chālukyas

Much less did the chiefs in the Banavāsi province recognise his claim for supremacy. The Guttas of Guttavolal do not at any time mention the Hoysalas as their overlords Ballala had to continue his struggle with the Kadambas of Hāngal even till 1211 A D Though the Hoysala records of this period are found in this region, the Kadamba epigraphs do not mention the Hoysala ruler as their overlord They claim to be independent. Thus, his rise to supreme power was not wholly welcome.

Ballāla's hold on Belvola, however, was firm and he continued to retain that province till about 1212 A. D. From this date, he had to make way to Singhaṇa II, grandson of Sēuṇa Bhillama V, and had to withdraw far below the Tungabhadrā. Singhaṇa who came to the throne in about 1200 A. D , led successful campaigns against all major feudatories of the Chālukyas, such as the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, the Śilāhāras and the Kadambas of Hāngal. Finally, by about 1215 A. D. he was able to occupy the whole of Banavāsi upto Honnali taluk. Simultaneously, the Belvola region also came under his sway. Since then Ballāla had to remain satisfied with his northern boundary extending upto the southern parts of Shimoga district.

Possession of the Belvola province appears to have been a highly coveted prize both for Ballāla II and Singhaṇa II. It is noteworthy that both these rulers, though the year of their actual reign started earlier and a series of their records count their regnal years from their accession to the ancestral kingdom, set up another series of epigraphs which commence their regnal

years from the year of their conquest of Belvola This phenomenon is rather strange and intriguing It can be explained on the assumption that great importance was attached to the Belvola region and its subjugation marked a new phase in their political-cum-military career

The Sinda chiefs of Belagutti were mainly responsible for the reverses of Ballāla in the Banavāsi area These chiefs were originally the feudatories of the Chālukyas But, later, when the Kalachuri power became extinct and Ballāla gained prominence in the southern part of the erstwhile Chālukya territory, they refused to submit to him This resulted in many armed clashes between them and Ballāla The Hoysala succeeded in putting them down in about 1199 A D and they continued in the subordinate position till about 1204 A D

Umādēvī, Ballāla's queen, exhibited her valour in leading the Hoysala army in its attacks upon Belagutti, the Sinda capital. These chiefs who had once spread their territory upto Hallur were later pushed out of that strategic place which then came under the Hoysala sway Īśvaradeva III of this family once again tried to defy the Hoysala authority and in his efforts, he sought the help of Sēuṇa Singhana who was also trying to drive away Ballāla from the Banavāsi area Singhana was very glad to help the Sinda By earning the goodwill of the Sinda chief he could gain free access to this region in the heart of the Hoysala territory, from where he could carry on the operations against the Hoysala. The alliance proved effective, for, inspite of the repeated attacks by Ballāla between 1215 and 1218 A D., Īśvaradēva successfully pushed back the enemy and remained a subordinate of Singhaṇa

Towards the end of his career, Ballāla had to turn his attention to the affairs of the Chōla kingdom He had been matrimonially connected with the Chōla family through his queen Chōlamahādēvi. He probably also gave his daughter Sōmaladēvī in marriage to Chōla Kulōttunga III Such

being the intimate relationship between the two houses, it was but natural for Kulōttunga to seek the help of Ballāla when he was in difficulties. In 1217 A. D Māravarma Sundara Pāndya, who had all along been a vassal of the Chōlas, revolted against the latter and was successful not only in flouting the authority of the Chōlas, but also in overthrowing Kulōttunga III. The latter appealed for help to Ballāla who sent his son Narasimha II to Kulōttunga's rescue. Narasimha succeeded in reinstating the Chōla king on the throne

The end of Ballāla came in 1220 A. D He was the first Hoysala to raise his family to the status of a sovereign ruling power. By defeating Sēuna Bhillama, he was able to extend the Hoysala sway as far as the Malaprabhā in the north, though there was a setback in his position in this region when Singhaṇa started his military operations His intervention in the Chōla affairs raised his prestige in the south The timely help he rendered to the Chōla king earned him the title *Chōlarājya-pratishṭāchārya* (the establisher of the Chōla kingdom)

Among the queens of Ballala, Umādēvī took an active part in the affairs of the kingdom She led the Hoysala army to the Sinda territory around Belagutti to subdue the Sinda chiefs

Narasimha II (*1220-1235 A D*)

Narasimha II succeeded his father on the Hoysala throne in the second half of 1220 A D His short reign of fifteen years was marked by the achievements in the Chōla territory. During his father's time, he had helped the Chōla king Kulōttunga III to regain his kingdom from the Pāṇḍyas. But the next Chōla king Rājarāja III was in trouble again. Because of the Pāṇḍya attack, the Chōlas were virtually reduced to a position of subordination But Rājarāja who was unwilling to accept such a position, defied the authority of the Pāṇḍyas. The Pāṇḍya king therefore took steps to suppress him. The Kāḍava chief, Kōpperunjinga, took up the cause of the Pāṇḍya and attacked

Rājarāja The Chōla could not face the enemy and left the capital. Kōpperunjinga pursued and defeated him. Under such circumstances Narasiṁha had to proceed to Kānchi to help the Chōla. He marched to the Chōla country towards the end of 1222 A. D. Passing through Śrīrangam and defeating the enemies on the way, he overpowered the Kāḍava chief and reinstated the Chōla king But the position of Rājarāja was in no way secure. The Kaḍava and the Bāṇa chiefs again revived their hostilities against the Chōla So, once again Narasiṁha had to rush to Kānchi to rescue Rājarāja Probably in order to keep a reserve force of the Hoysalas to protect Rājarāja,he obtained from the Chōla king some territory around Kannānur. This was placed under the charge of his son Sōmēśvara Having made these arrangements Narasiṁha returned to his capital in 1223 A. D.

When Narasiṁha was thus engaged in the affairs of the south, the Sēuna king Singhana was busy consolidating his power in the northern part of the Hoysala kingdom which he had now occupied Narasiṁha, therefore, had to fight out this adversary also A battle took place towards the end of 1223 A. D. on the banks of the Tungabhadrā The Hoysala records claim that two Sēuṇa generals, Vikrama and Pāvusa, were killed in this fierce battle, but, obviously the battle was not in favour of Narasiṁha. Therefore, the Hoysala made another attempt sometime about 1228 A D. when his forces under Amitadaṇdanāyaka encountered the Sēuṇa army near Nērilage. For a third time, in 1230 A D, the two armies met on the battlefield This time the Hoysala army was led by a general named Harihara. These battles however did not affect the position of the Sēuṇa king much Epigraphs indicate that Banavāsi continued to be his stronghold and the Hoysala had to remain content with the area below the Tungabhadrā. Narasiṁha was forced to rush to the south in the middle of the last battle. Thereafter, he gave up the idea of making further attempts to dislodge the Sēuṇa.

The presence of a contingent of the Hoysala forces under Sōmēśvara did not improve the conditions in the Chōla country.

The Kāḍava chief Kōpperuñjinga was still hostile and Rājarāja was not in a position to counteract. Another attack by him made Rājarāja flee from the capital when he was chased and imprisoned. On learning of these incidents Narasimha proceeded to the Tamil country and soon reached Pāchchūr near Kaṇṇānūr and started his operations from this camp. He sent his two generals Appaṇṇa and Gōpayya whose assaults Kōpperuñjinga could not withstand. He agreed to release Rājarāja from prison. Narasiṁha accepted the offer and reinstated Rājarāja on the Chōla throne. When these generals were fighting the Kādava chief, Narasiṁha attacked the Pāṇḍya king Māravarma Sundara Pāṇḍya, whom he subdued. This was the most commendable act in the career of Narasiṁha who was hailed as the saviour of the Chōla throne. After this his prestige and influence in the Chōla country swelled and the Kaṇṇānūr region became a part of the Hoysala kingdom. This decisive victory over the Pāṇḍya and the Kāḍava rulers and the final restoration of the Chōla king took place some time in 1230 A D Narasiṁha appears to have remained in the Chōla country for some time after that. This was the last event in his political career and his rule ended a few years later in about 1235 A. D Either in this year or early in the next, Sōmēśvara succeeded him to the Hoysala throne.

Sōmēśvara (1235–1253 A. D)

With Sōmēśvara's accession there was a shift in the policy of the Hoysalas towards both their northern and southern neighbours Associated as he was with the Chōla country even from his young age, Sōmēśvara was not as much interested in the affairs of the northern territories of his kingdom as his predecessors were In fact, after his father's death Sōmēśvara made Kaṇṇānūr his permanent headquarters and paid only occasional visits to the Hoysala capital Dōrasamudra His continued absence from the capital consequently helped his Sēuṇa adversaries Singhaṇa and his successor Kannara, to annex some of the northern portions of the Hoysala kingdom. Sōmēśvara does not appear to have made any serious attempt to retrieve them His titles

Sēuṇa-nṛipa-bal-ārṇava-dāvānala and the like are merely conventional and do not imply any conflict between the two powers On the other hand, presence of the Seuna records in the Chitradurga district speak of further expansion of the Sēunas to the south of the Tungabhadrā

In the Chōla country no outstanding event occurred till Rājarāja III lived except some Pāṇḍya inroads, which were successfully warded off by the Hoysala army But, with the commencement of the rule of the next Chōla king Rājēndra III in about 1246 A D, the Hoysalas had to change their policy towards the Chōlas Unlike Rājarāja, Rājēndra tried to stand on his own legs In this he appears to have been helped by several chiefs of the east coast like Tikka, the Telugu-Chōda chief of Nellore, and his son Manumasiddhi alias Gandagōpāla Tikka is described in a literary work as having defeated the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara and reinstated the Chōla king Though this claim has no basis of facts, it certainly indicates the changed attitude of the Chōlas towards the Hoysalas.

The growing differences between the Chōlas and the Hoysalas became apparent, when the former made bold to attack the Pāṇḍyas. Sōmēśvara who had stood by the Chōlas all these days, this time sided with the Pāṇḍyas and defeating Rājēndra, claimed to be the saviour of the Pāṇḍya race (*Paṇḍya-kula-samrakshaṇa-daksha-dakshiṇa-bhuja*). Rājēndra's resentment of the Hoysala king is well exhibited in his titles, *Karṇāṭarāya-kōladaṇḍa* and the like But, Rājēndra's position was not secure. Not long after, the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati attacked Kānchi The threat from the Pāṇḍyas was always there. Such circumstances persuaded Rājēndra to compose his differences with Sōmēśvara.

Sōmēśvara was now growing in age and might have found it difficult to attend to the affairs of the kingdom which had become large and unwieldy. He must have realised that maintaining two capitals and frequently moving from the one to the other did not properly serve the interests of the different parts.

So he thought of dividing his kingdom into two portions each of which was to be placed under a seperate head. Accordingly, he placed his elder son Narasimha III in charge of the northern area of the kingdom with Dōrasamudra as the capital Rāmanātha, his younger son, was to govern the southern region from Kaṇṇānur Sōmēśvara himself chose to remain in Kaṇṇānur and lived for a few years thereafter, taking active part in the affairs of the kingdom.

It is generally believed that this event took place in 1254 A. D. But we have an inscription dated March 1253 A. D from Shimoga district, which refers to the feuds between these two Hoysala princes, thereby indicating that the partition might have taken place either in the beginning of 1253 A. D. or even earlier. The epigraph under reference relates to a battle fought between the two in the northern area, when Immaḍi Ballāladēva, the chief of Sētu, ordered his general Tamma-sāvanta to fight on behalf of Rāmanātha whose follower he was. Since the battle took place within the region of Narasimha III, it indicates that his territory had been attacked by his brother It seems that the two brothers were not on good terms even earlier, before the partition was effected; and this might also be one of the reasons for the division of the kingdom.

Sōmēśvara had, among others, two queens, Bijjalā and Dēvalā who were mothers respectively of Narasimha III and Rāmanātha.

Narasimha III(1253-1292 A.D.) and Rāmanātha(1253-1295 A D)

The partition of the country, with whatever intention it might have been decided upon, did not bring happy results Narasimha III and Rāmānatha did not rule in peace On the other hand, contrary to the obvious expectations of Sōmēśvara, these brothers continued to fight among themselves, thereby weakening their own power. The distraction caused by his brother's encroachments disabled Narasimha to an extent from safeguarding his northern frontiers from the Sēuṇas. Nevertheless he seems to have repulsed an attack by Sēuṇa Mahādēva early in 1271 A. D. A major battle was fought four years later, when

Rāmachandra was on the Sēuṇa throne The Sēuṇa army was led by Jōyanāyaka of Hāvēri sometime beforel 1275 A. D.

Having failed to achieve victory, Rāmachandra planned an invasion on a major scale early next year. Led by Sāluva Tikkama and Haripāla, the Sēuṇa army marched with a determined effort to capture the Hoysala capital Dōrasamudra and camped at Belavādi about four and a half miles from that city. But the Hoysala generals, Ankanāyaka and Chikka Kētayanāyaka, rose to the occasion and fighting valiantly, pushed the Sēuṇa army up to Dumme. In this battle Ankanāyaka's son lost his life. Though the Sēuṇa claim of victory and the capture of Dōrasamudra has no basis, it is obvious from the provenance of the records that a good part of Chitradurga district remained under their control. We find that the Sēuṇa general Sāluva Tikkama built a temple of Lakshmīnārāyaṇa at Harihara in memory of his old master Sēuṇa Mahādēva. Narasiṁha had also to fight with the recalcitrant chiefs like the Sāntaras.

The Hoysala prestige that was so well built up in the Chōla country, was lowered when Sōmēśvara sided with the Pāṇḍyas against the Chōlas, into whose region the Hoysalas had entered for rendering assistance against the Pāṇḍyas. Though there was a compromise later, the relations between the two became strained. By the time Rāmanātha came to the throne, Jaṭāvarma Sundara Pāṇḍya I had succeeded Māravarma Sundara Pāṇḍya II In 1257 A D., taking advantage of the deteriorating relationship between the Chōlas and the Hoysalas and their consequent weakness, Jaṭāvarma made a massive attack on the Chōḷa territory Rāmanātha and his father Sōmēśvara, who stood by the Chōla, could not face the Pāṇḍya and fled from the battle Jaṭāvarma overran the Chōḷa country, subduing all the smaller chiefs such as the Kāḍavas and the Bāṇas. The whole of the Chōla territory including the Kaṇṇānur region which was in the possession of the Hoysalas now came under his control. Sōmēśvara died some time after this battle

Rāmanātha, who had been fighting with his brother from the beginning of his career in 1253 A. D., now intensified his hostilities after loosing his hold in the Tamil area. Frequent clashes, which continued till the death of Narasiṁha III in 1291 A. D., resulted in some territorial gains for him in the Kolar and Bangalore districts, as his inscriptions in that region indicate. In the meantime, in another clash with the Pāṇḍya, Rāmanātha lost his capital Kaṇṇānur and shifted his headquarters to Kundāṇi, to the north of Kaṇṇānur. It is from here that he conducted his affairs till his death in 1295 A. D.

Ballāḷa III (1291–1342 A. D.)

Ballāla III was the son of Narasiṁha. He succeeded his father in 1291 A. D., though his coronation took place on January 31, 1292 A. D. Narasiṁha's death did not change the attitude of Rāmanātha. He seems to have even opposed Ballāla's succession. With his power in the south diminished, Rāmanātha obviously tried to claim the territories that were being ruled by his brother. His records appear frequently in the eastern parts of southern Mysore. In about 1295 A. D. his son Viśvanātha succeeded him. But he was a weak prince and could not maintain his father's policy. He did not even rule for long. Nothing is heard of him after 1297 A. D. Ballāla III probably took the offensive and ousted Viśvanātha. In 1301 A. D., we find Ballala ruling over the united Hoysaḷa kingdom. However, it was now a largely emaciated kingdom.

While Ballāla was busy in his efforts to consolidate the Hoysala dominions, Ala-ud-din Khilji, invaded the Sēuṇa kingdom in the beginning of 1295 A. D. Unable to withstand the aggression of the invader Rāmachandra purchased peace at a heavy cost. Ala-ud-din returned to Delhi with huge wealth, after plundering Dēvagiri, in the middle of 1296 A. D. Rāmachandra practically lost his independence and he was forced to pay annual tributes to the Delhi Sultan.

As seen earlier, soon after the return of Ala-ud-din to Delhi Rāmachandra renewed his hostilities towards the Hoysaḷas.

In 1301 A. D. his general Yebaranāyaka attacked the Sāntara chief, a subordinate of Ballāḷa, and fought with him at Nūlagēri. There was another clash in the very next year in 1302 A. D., when Yabaranāyaka attacked the Hoysaḷa general Soḍaladēva. A fierce battle took place at Holalkere in 1303 A. D., when Kampiladēva, on the side of Rāmachandra, killed the Hoysaḷa general Sōmeya-daṇḍanāyaka. In 1306 A D. Ballāla retaliated by invading the fort of Nākiguṇḍi and inflicting heavy losses on Rāmachandra. Ballāla's generals were also busy fighting with the Hānagal Kadamba chief Kāvadēva Inscriptions refer to at least two such fights at Sirsi, one in 1300 A. D. and the other in 1302 A D. when Gangeya Sāhaṇif ought with the Hoysala army on behalf of the Kadambas.

In the meantime, fresh developments took place in the Pāṇḍya country. Māravarma Kulaśēkhara, the ruling Pāndya king, was murdered by one of his sons, Sundara Pāṇḍya, and a dispute arose for the throne between him and Vīra Pāṇḍya, the favourite but illegitimate son of Kulaśēkhara. Sundara Pāṇdya sought the help of Ballāḷa who, as a consequence proceeded to the south in 1310 A. D.

It was at this juncture that Ala-ud din planned yet another expedition to the south. The rich booty that he had acquired from Dēvagiri and Warangal, further roused his thirst for wealth. This time Dōrasamudra and Ma'bar i e. the Coromandal coast, became the target of his attack. On the 3rd of February 1311 A. D., Ala-ud-din's army under Malik Kafur arrived at Dēvagiri, where it was well received by Rāmachandra who also lent the services of his general Paraśurāma Dalavāyi to guide the Muslim army to Dōrasamudra. On hearing this, Ballāla hurried back to Dōrasamudra before Malik Kafur reached that place, on the 25th February 1311 A. D. Ballāḷa fought with all his might, as gathered from the references in the inscriptions, against the attack of the Muslims. But finally he had to submit to the superior power of the enemy and surrender his wealth.

To add to it, Malik Kafur obtained the help of Ballāla to march against Ma'bar, the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyas. The expedition was unsuccessful. He could not meet either of the Pāṇḍyas, Sundara Pāṇḍya or Vīra Pāṇḍya But he destroyed the temples, plundered the cities in that kingdom and seized enormous wealth. In October of that year he returned to Delhi. The defeat of Ballāla was complete and he was forced to send his son to the court of Delhi. There, however, he was well received. He safely returned to his country early in 1313 A. D.

It appears that this Muslim inroad was considered by Ballāla as a passing phase. He once again intervened in the affairs of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The fights between the Pāṇḍya brothers had not ceased. Vīra Pāṇḍya sought the help of Ravivarma Kulaśēkhara, the Kerala king, while Sundara Pāṇḍya had enlisted the support of Kākatīya Pratāparudra. Ballāla now joined the latter Sundara Pāṇḍya succeeded in defeating his brother The Hoysala king achieved some territorial gain in this feud. He annexed areas around Aruṇasamudra, the present Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, which now became his southern headquarters

Ballāla's northern adversary, Sēuṇa Rāmachandra died in 1312 A. D and his son Singhaṇa III did not rule for long. He and his brother-in-law Haripāla were killed, and in 1318 A. D. the Sēuṇa kingdom was subjected to Muslim rule with a Muslim governor stationed at Dēvagiri

Besides that of the Hoysalas, the small state of Kampili was another Hindu kingdom which was still independent This was to the north-east of the Hoysala kingdom. Mummaḍi Singeya-nāyaka is the first known ruler of the state. Dōravāḍi, situated in Ballakunde-300 division, identified with Darōji in Bellary taluk, was one of the strongholds, while Kummaṭa was the capital of this principality. Mummaḍi Singeya-nāyaka (c. 1280–1300 A. D.) expanded his territory as far as Harihar in Chitradurga district. He was succeeded by his son Kampiladēva (c. 1300–1327 A. D.),

also called Khaṇḍeyarāya. As an ally of Sēüṇa Rāmachandra, Kampila had fought against Ballāla III. The death of Rāmachandra provided an opportunity for Kampiladēva to build up a kingdom of considerable size including parts of Shimoga, Chitradurga, Bellary, Anantapur, Dharwar and Raichur districts. In 1314 A. D., Kampiladēva faced an attack of Malik Kafur Six years later, in 1320 A. D., anticipating little or no opposition from Kampila, Ballāḷa invaded his territory and a battle was fought at Dōravāḍi. Though Ballāla claims to have defeated Kampila, the battle did not result in any territorial gain. Kampila had a heroic son named Rāmanātha who assisted his father in his campaigns.

In Delhi, events moved swiftly after the murder of Mubarak Khilji, the last member of the Khilji dynasty, in 1321 A. D. The nobles raised to the throne of the Sultanate a Karaunian Turk, Gazi Malik, who assumed the name of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak. The new Sultan, after consolidating his position in Delhi, sent an army to the south under the command of his son Ulugh Khan in 1323 A. D, on the pretext of collecting the unpaid tributes from the Kākatīya king Pratāparudra. The first attack was not successful. But a second attempt was made with reinforcements. This time the fort of Warangal was captured and Pratāparudra was taken prisoner and sent to Delhi. However, proud as he was, Pratāparudra appears to have committed suicide before he reached Delhi. Thus came to an end the rule of the Kākatīyas of Warangal.

This enhanced the prestige of Ulugh Khan who very shortly thereafter in 1325-26 A. D. managed to get his father killed in a pre-arranged 'accident'. Then he was proclaimed as the Sultan of Delhi under the name of Muhammad Tughlak. In 1327 A. D. he sent an expedition to the south against Dōrasamudra. Ballāḷa could not put up enough resistance and the capital was ruthlessly sacked and destroyed. The Hoysala was forced to retreat to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. The Muslim army did not find any difficulty in occupying Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍya

kingdom. This territory was then placed under Muhammadan governors. Of the five kingdoms of South India, three viz., those of Dēvagiri, Warangal and Madura became victims of Muslim aggression. Thus, by 1330 A. D. large parts of South India acknowledged the suzarainty of the Delhi Sultanate. Only the small chieftaincy of Kampili, besides the kingdom of the Hoysalas, were the two conspicuous states that still enjoyed a virtually independent status.

In 1327 A. D. Baha-ud-din Gurshasp, a nephew of the Delhi Sultan, who was the governor of Sagar in the neighbourhood of Gulbarga, rebelled against his uncle Muhammad Tughlak marched southwards to punish him. But this rebel fled from Sagar and sought refuge under Kampiladēva. The Sultan now repeatedly attacked Kampili. Two of his early expeditions failed. Finally, Kampiladēva and his son Rāmanātha fell upon the enemy and wrought havoc in the enemy's ranks before they themselves laid down their lives in the battle. All the womenfolk had already committed *sati* and Baha-ud-din had been despatched to Dōrasamudra to the care of Ballāla.

The disappointed victor now marched against the Hoysala. However, Ballāla who was himself in a precarious situation did not take risks. The Muslim army pursued and captured the rebel who was put to death. After the fall of Kampili the only kingdom of the Hindus which retained an almost independent existence, was that of the Hoysalas. Even this State had been subdued more than once by the invader, but its ruler Ballāḷa was allowed to govern.

It was at this critical time when the whole of South India was overrun by the Muslims that there came forth a new dynasty which held forth hopes of Hindu survival. This was Vijayanagara which stood for the protection of Hindu religion and culture and whose foundations were laid in 1336 A. D. The wholesale destruction of Hindu temples and the unheard of atrocities committed by the Muslim invaders hastened the starting of a movement for

the liberation of the south from the hands of the Muslims. Besides the five sons of Sangama there came forth other heroic leaders like Prōlayanāyaka and his cousin Kāpayanāyaka from the Andhra province. These received help and encouragement from Ballāla III who was preparing to free the country from the clutches of the aliens. His task ahead, however, was beset with difficulties which he had to overcome. It was not an easy course to evict the enemy who had spread in all parts and established the garrisons in the extensive territory stretching from the Tungabhadrā to Rāmēśvaram. He was declining in age and finding himself unable to meet with the situation single handed His only son Virūpāksha Ballāla IV, from whom he could expect great help, was lacking in ability and initiative With all this, Ballāla could pin his faith in one competent and trust-worthy provincial officer who was highly energetic and rendering yeoman service in his fight against the enemy. This was Harihara, the eldest son of Sangama. Ballāla appears to have thought him to be the fittest person to share his responsibility in the northern part of his dominions. Thus Ballāla seems to have placed Harihara in charge of his northern territory as its governor and permitted him to enjoy an almost independent status, free to act according to the exigencies.

Turning to the Andhra region, Kāpayanāyaka with the help he received from Ballāla, inflicted defeat on Malik Maqbul, the governor of Telangana, who left the country and went to Delhi. Next, Ballāḷa vanquished the forces stationed in the area of Ma'bar and drove them away. The administration of the region was entrusted to a member of the Śambuvarāya family.

In 1340 A D Jalal-ud-din Hasan Shah, the governor of Madura died and was succeeded by Ala-ud-din Udauji, one of his *amirs*. He invaded the Hoysala kingdom. A chance arrow that killed the invader made Ballāḷa convert defeat into success. He now pressed his victory and in 1342 A. D., beseiged the fort of Kaṇṇānūr which once belonged to him.

The defenders opened negotiations for peace. Ballāḷa demanded the surrender of the fort; but he committed a blunder

in allowing the besieged to get into touch with the new governor at Madura, Ghiyas-ud-din, for consultations. The delay thus caused, gave the Sultan enough respite to march with a huge army for the rescue of the besieged Ballāla and his men were taken completely by surprise by this sudden attack of the enemy and could not stand the fresh assault In the encounter that followed, the aged Ballāḷa was captured by the Muslim general Nasir-ud-din and brought before Ghiyas-ud-din who had him killed. Ibn Batuta, who graphically describes this event, tells us that the king's skin was stuffed with straw and displayed at the gates of Madura. Batuta affirms to have seen the body himself. Such was the end of the great Ballāla. His death occurred, according to an inscription, on the 8th of September, 1342 A D., at the ripe age of 80 years

Ballāla III's son and successor Virūpāksha Ballāla IV held his coronation in August 1343 A. D. But, his rule is of no significance for, by then, the Sangama brothers had established the new kingdom of Vijayanagara in the Hoysala territory. By 1346 A. D, which is the latest known date of Ballāla IV, most of the Hoysaḷa dominions had come under the sway of this new power.

Thus ended the rule of the Hoysalas who, for over three centuries, were the masters of the vast area between the Tungabhadrā and the Kāvērī, at times spreading their power and influence much beyond these limits.

The Glories of the Hoysala Rule

A Memorable Regime

It is generally observed that weakness and decay of old empires lead to the rise of new kingdoms. This observation applies to the birth of the Hoysala State. The foundation of the Hoysaḷa kingdom was an outcome of the acts of encroachment, conquest and annexation carried out by its ambitious chiefs. Whatever the early travails and tribulations, the subsequent

lofty ideals, peaceful and secure governance and shining achievements in a number of fields, that stand to the credit of the Hoysaḷa monarchs, have rendered their regime ever memorable in the annals of our country.

The Spirit of Freedom

Submission to alien aggression and acquiescence in foreign domination is a national crime. No individual or people with self-respect will ever tolerate such an abject state. Not only in modern times, but also in early periods of history, our land and people had the misfortune of tasting the bitter fruits of alien rule. But this evil was soon done away with by the heroic leaders who rose to the occasion from time to time.

As our recollection goes back through centuries in the past, it dwells upon the first freedom fighter in the person of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. He crushed the foreign hordes of the Śakas, the Greeks and the Parthians, who had tresspassed and stayed on our sacred soil. This was in the second century A. D. His memory has been fittingly cherished to the present day, though in a queer fashion, by the grateful generations who mention him by the name Śālivāhana, the Epoch-maker, in the daily reckoning of time on religious and secular occasions.

Passing over about two centuries, we stand before the youthful Mayūraśarma, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, who liberated our ancestors from the yoke of the Pallavas. Some three centuries later incursion of the same enemy across the border took place and the capital city of Bādāmi and the surrounding region became the subject of occupation by the Pallava forces in about 642 A. D. The mighty Pulakēśi II's son, valorous Vikramāditya I made supreme efforts to drive away the adversary and once again restored the Chālukya sovereignty over Karnataka (655 A. D.). In the reign of this monarch's great grandson Vikramāditya II (733-745 A. D.) the inroads of the Arab adventurers into Gujarat were courageously repulsed by a scion of the Chālukya family, Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśi.

Some three centuries elapsed. If the Pallavas were inveterate foes of the rulers of Karnataka, the Chōlas who succeeded them in the Tamil country inherited their antagonism which was zealously pursued. The Chōḷa king, the great Rājarāja I (985–1016 A. D) conquered parts of the southern territory comprising Gangavāḍi, Nolambavāḍi and other tracts and annexed them to his empire.

This region under alien occupation soon became the target of attack by the chiefs of the Hoysala family ever since they emerged as a political power Though a matter of coincidence, it is interesting to note that the story of Saḷa killing a tiger symbolically suggests the fight of the Hoysalas against the Chōlas who had the figure of tiger as their royal emblem It may further be noted that in due course tiger became the royal insignia of the Hoysalas themselves. Although the early Hoysala rulers from Vinayāditya were campaigning against the Chōla power, the credit of administering a crushing blow to the Chōla intruders and effacing all traces of their rule in the Kannada territory goes to Vishnuvardhana (1116 A. D).

Resistance to Muslim Aggression

Before long, within about two centuries, the whole of South India including the Kannada country became the victim of far more powerful and devastatingly disastrous onslaughts of the Muslim invaders. In this grave national calamity it was again a great Hoysala ruler who pledged his all and made supreme efforts to ward off this menace of country-wide proportions. This was Ballāla III, the martyr who lost his life (1342 A. D.) in the fierce fight against the treacherous enemy.

It is not meet to underestimate in this context the thrilling episode of wholesale self-immolation performed by the chiefs of the principality of Kummaṭa, Kampila and his heroic son Rāmanātha (1327 A. D). Valiantly they stood, the whole lot, like a human barrier on the path of the onrushing aggressor till

the entire families along with the combatants were wiped out of existence.

Sacrifices made for a noble cause with a selfless motive never go in vain The unceasing fights for freedom with the attendant untold sufferings and the loss of countless lives carried on by Ballāla III, Kampila and Rāmanātha, Prōlaya Nāyaka and other leaders, soon bore fruit in the form of the foundation of splendid Vijayanagara which saved South India from the evils of alien domination This episode is narrated in the sequel

The Southern Expansion

An important phenomenon of the Hoysala rule was the expansion of its power and influence in the further south The Hoysalas were almost all—from Nṛipa Kāma to Ballāla III—brave, ambitious and capable monarchs On account of the political and military pressure of the Sēuṇas, they could not expand in the north The only exception perhaps is the daring incursion of Hoysala Sōmēśvara who sallied forth into the Sēuna territory as far north as Pandharpur in Sholapur district and made the grant of a village to the Vaishṇavite god Viṭhṭhala of that place, in 1236 A. D.

The loss in the north, however, was made good by the gain in the south. A favourable opportunity for the assertion of their ascendancy in the political and military fronts and diplomacy was presented to the Hoysalas from the closing years of Ballāḷa II's reign (1173-1220 A. D.), when the Chōla hegemony so ably built and preserved by Rājarāja I and his sturdy successors during the tenth to the twelfth centuries, had entered its phase of decline in the hands of incompetent rulers on the one hand and on the other, the aggressive activities of their southern neighbours, the Pāṇḍyas who were their relentless foes from the early days Thus, at the time when the Chōla rule was threatened with extinction, Ballāla II sent his forces and saved the situation. To mark this achievement Ballāla II bore the distinctive titles, *Chōḷarājya-pratishṭhāchārya* and *Pāṇḍyagajakēsari.*

The Chōḷa power was further undermined in the reign of Kulōttunga III's successor Rājarāja III who was a weak prince. A contingent of Orissan soldiers suddenly attacked the Chōla kingdom and pushed forth into the interior as far as Śrīrangam. The Hoysala forces had marched into the Chōla territory to safeguard its interests and were operating in the Kānchi region. The Kāḍava chief Kōpperuñjinga who was a subordinate of the Chōlas, defied their authority and made common cause with their enemy, the Pāndya ruler Māravarma Sundara Pāṇḍya. In the battle at Tellāru, Rājarāja III was defeated and taken prisoner by his Kāḍava adversary. At this juncture Ballāla II's son Narasiṁha II rushed to the rescue of the Chōla king. Sundara Pāṇḍya was repulsed and his wily ally Kōpperuṇjinga was overpowered The Chōla king was released from his captivity and restored to his throne. Narasiṁha marched in the south as far as Rāmēśvaram and set up a pillar of victory there. These successes decorated Hoysala Narasiṁha II with the befitting title *Chōḷakulaikaraksha*

The Hoysala authority and influence predominated in the Tamil country and the Chōla empire for over half a century in the early decades of the thirteenth century Hoysalas then played the role of arbiters in the politics of South India and maintained the balance of power. They prevented the Pāṇḍyas from annihilating the Chōlas and gave the latter a longer lease of life. In the height of its ascent the Hoysala sway extended into the Chōla dominions from the areas of Chittoor district in the north to those of Tanjore in the south. It is known from an inscription that Ballāla III planted a pillar of victory near Sētu or Rāma's bridge.

This was a second occasion when the might of Karnāṭa arms made itself felt throughout the Tamil country as far as Rāmēśvaram, after a lapse of about three centuries. The earlier occasion was in the reign of Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishṇa III who nipped in the bud the rise of the Chōla power under Parāntaka I. By a historical irony the process was repeated It was now the turn

of another Karnāṭa monarch to revive and save the same Chōla power and kingdom from total extinction.

The Administration

As the rulers over the former Ganga territory and erstwhile feudatories of the Later Chālukyas, the Hoysalas inherited and adopted the administrative framework of both, though the deviations from the general pattern of the times were few. However, by insistence on implicit fidelity and discipline among the services, the efficiency of the Hoysala administrative machinery appears to have been kept up

The three tiers of the structure of administration, viz the central, provincial and local or rural, functioned in the usual manner. At the central apex power was wielded by the ruling king, his enlightened queen, the crown prince and the princes of the royal household The Council of Ministers played a useful and significant role Next to the ministers, the army commanders were prominent, being the strong arm of the ruler From the conspicuous allusions to the *Panchapradhānas* in their records, the strength of the ministry appears to have been conveniently limited by exigency and convention to five The *Panchapradhānas* or the Five Ministers are said to comprise of Sandhivigrahi, Śrīkaraṇādhikāri, Hiriyabhāndāri, Sēnādhipati and Mahāpasāyata, being severally the Heads of the Departments of Internal and External Affairs, State Secretariat, Treasury, Army and Royal Establishment.

The king was the protector of faiths and held the balance even among the followers of all religions. Furthermore, the leaders and institutions of different religious schools and doctrines were recipients of royal honour and patronage Thus, catholicity and broadminded religious tolerance went a long way in promoting religious goodwill and social solidarity among the subjects The queens and princes of the royal family were well-educated and cultured. They took deep interest in the affairs of the

state and actively shared the burden of administration in the vital matters.

The military was well-organised and its two prominent arms were the elephant and cavalry corps. The spirit of loyalty, enterprise, heroism and sacrifice ran high in the fighting personnel who were inspired by higher motives.

Though under the control of the king, still endowed with a measure of freedom of action and delegation of powers, the governors exercised their authority over the provinces. The hereditary fiefs within the empire were administered by feudatory chiefs called *Sāmantas*. Officers like Nāḍaprabhu, Nāḍagauḍa and Nāḍasēnabōva were in charge of smaller territorial units like Nāḍus The routine affairs of the villages were carried on as usual under the direction of the representative elders. At the centre and on the lower levels there functioned the hierarchy of a large number of officers of various categories, responsibilities and denominations

Progressive Fair Sex

No intentional hurdles as such were placed on the path of progress of the womenfolk. By their ability and zeal many women, not only of the aristocracy and higher ranks of society, but also in the common walks of life could distinguish themselves in the tough pursuits like statecraft, public administration and war, not to speak of the safer ones like religion, literature and fine arts. In spite of the paucity of source materials at our disposal, a good many instances can be cited to substantiate the above observations. To mention just a few.

In an earlier context we have made reference to Vijaya-bhaṭṭārikā, daughter-in-law of Pulakēśi II, who was a Sanskrit poetess par excellence Śīlamahādēvī, the queen of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva was another distinguished lady who admirably associated herself in the affairs of the state. To the same epoch belongs Jakkiyabbe who administered the office of Nāḷ-gāvuṇḍa of

Nāgarakhaṇḍa-70, which was conferred upon her after the demise of her husband by the Rāshṭrakuṭa king Kṛishṇa II. Though a woman of not high social status, she skilfully discharged her duties of governance in the pride of her own heroic bravery.

As one who dedicated her life and soul for the promotion of religious merit and social well-being amidst her own adversity and hardship, Attimabbe stands out in the forefront Daughter of Mallappayya, a high officer in the service of the Later Chālukyas, she was given in marriage along with her younger sister Guṇḍamabbe to General Nāgadēva. After the premature death of her husband, she had to discharge the obligation of bringing up her young son Aṇṇigadēva, as her sister committed the rite of *sati* Being a devout Jaina by persuasion, she engaged herself incessantly in austerities and spent all her time, energy and resources for the promotion of the faith She encouraged the famous Kannada poet Ranna to compose the *Ajitanātha-purāṇa* She had prepared one thousand copies of the *Śāntināthapurāṇa* of another great Kannada poet Ponna for the facility of study among the devout Jainas. She got constructed 1500 splendid Jaina shrines and donated for installation therein as many excellent Jaina idols Such gifts flowed from her so generously and profusely that she earned the encomium as *Dānachintāmaṇi* (the fabulous wish-giving jewel) This characteristic epithet of hers passed into the tradition for generations as a proverbial by-word for exemplary piety, purity of character and saintliness. Attimabbe lived in the early decades of the eleventh century.

In the regime of the Later Chālukyas many members of the royal household, princesses and queens, prominently figure as participants in the affairs of governance and administration. Among them we may notice a reputed princess, viz Akkādēvī, the elder sister of Jayasimha II, who governed the areas of Toragale-60, Kisukāḍu-70 and Māsavāḍi-140. She also shared with her husband the authority over the province of Banavāsi.

She distinguished herself as a warrior by playing a leading role on the fields of battle. This is instanced by the achievement of her quelling the rebellion of the chief of Gōkāge (Gokak in Belgaum district). On account of such display of valour she was fittingly called *Raṇabhairavī* (the fierce Goddess of War)

Besides her proficiency in fine arts, Chandaladēvi, the senior queen of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI took keen interest in the matters of public administration. Another queen of the same monarch, viz. Jākaladēvī was administering the township of Inguṇige (Ingalagi in Gulbarga district) She was Jaina by persuasion and so firm in her devotion to Jina that she persisted in her faith even though the palace atmosphere was not quite congenial She was hailed as the Guardian of the Jaina doctrine and Goddess of Victory in the warfare of her lord. Sāvaladēvī, queen of the Kalachuri king Rāyamurāri Sōvidēva, was a highly accomplished lady. She demonstrated her proficiency in music on a ceremonial occasion

The Vīraśaiva movement of Basavēśvara with its liberal outlook proved an incentive to the female community coming under its influence, to push forward in the fields of religion, philosophy and literature. They were treated on par with men and received encouragement in their spirtual advancement. A large number of ladies who joined the movement, zealously contributed to the spread of the faith by their devotional fervour and compositions of the Vachanas. Among those who were in the forefront of such activities we may mention the following few : Basavēśvara's wives Gangāmbikā and Nīlāmbikā, his elder sister Akka Nāgamma, Akkamahādēvī, Muktāyakka, Lingamma etc.

Examples indicating the capability of women are available in the Sēuṇa period also. Queen Lachchiyavva functioned as the regent of the kingdom during the minority of her grandson Bhillama III. As a worthy governor of a large area comprising of three regions round about modern Bijapur district, Bhāgubāyi (1239-1245 A. D.) earned the confidence of her overlord Singhaṇa

II. To about the same period belongs Dēkalabbe-gorati who looked after the administration of the religious establishment pertaining to a temple. Mention may be made of Mahādēvī who was the governor of a fort (*Durgādhipati*) in the reign of Rāmachandra.

Coming to the age of the Hoysalas, we notice commendable advancement among the women in general and ladies of the princely order in particular. Many of the Hoysala queens were well educated not only in letters and arts, but also in public affairs. Śāntaladēvī, senior queen of Vishṇuvardhana, who was highly accomplished in music and dance, often assisted the king in matters of state and administration. A poet worthily describes her thus :

> She was the supreme Goddess Lakshmī in eminence, personification of the Goddess of Sword in war, the Goddess of Earth in magnitude, the Goddess of Learning in knowledge, the Goddess of Counsel in the manifold affairs of the state of her lord and the Goddess of Welfare to the subjects in all respects.

Ballāla II's wife Umādēvī was a heroic queen and good administrator. She crushed the revolt of Mallidēva, the feudatory ruler of Belagutti by leading the state forces against him. She accompanied the king in his expeditions and directed the affairs of the kingdom, herself remaining in the capital of Dōrasamudra, while the king was away on his campaigns. Similarly, there were many more competent ladies who belonged to the palace and other ranks.

Dedicated Heroism

Dedication which is motivated by selfless love for a worthy object, has its support in courage and heroism Its final goal at the other extreme is self-effacement. Examples of faithful wives committing *sati* or *sahagamana* for their husbands are numerous and well known. However, it is not generally noticed

that there flourished in historic times heroic men who exhibited their unflinching faith and loyalty for their masters in the form of complete dedication

One class of such warriors was that of Ankakāras. *Anka* here means resolution or vow. Ankakāra, therefore, is a warrior who takes the vow of protecting his master, the chief of his choice, from risk and dangers by always remaining by his side.

Then, there existed a class of hereditary warriors called Lenkas, whose avocation was to faithfully serve their master, the ruling chief, in his military operations against the enemy. Noted for their superior valour and unflinching fidelity, the Lenkas possessed a much higher calibre and enjoyed a better status than those of ordinary soldiers. To ensure success they were used as reserve force in times of need. An inscription of 1045 A. D. in the reign of the Later Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I extols the virtues of the corporation of one thousand Lenkas who were in the employ of the Nolamba feudatory Trailōkyamalla Nanni-Nolamba

Again, Vēlevāli or Vēlekāra was another community of warriors who voluntarily dedicated themselves for the service of their masters in life and death By a solemn pledge taken on the occasion of a symbolic ceremony, the person choosing this course was so fastly united with his liege-lord in all his exploits that not even death could separate the two. Epigraphical records provide examples of this unique category of heroism.

Such martial traditions attained their climax in the age of the Hoysalas, when another strange fraternity of dedicated heroes ame to prominence. On account of their following the example of Garuḍa, the celestial vehicle of God Vishṇu, in the matter of serving the lord with implicit faith, loyalty and devotion, they were called *Garuḍa*.

The most outstanding and astounding instance is that of Kuvara Lakshma, the commander of the corps of one thousand

body-guard warriors in the service of Ballāla II. This Lakshma, his heroic queen Suggaladēvī and the one thousand soldiers were all Garuḍas, sworn to live and die for the Hoysala monarch. No difference was made between the servant and the master, Lakshma and Ballāla. The king brought him up as his own son, sharing with him the glory and marks of royalty. When king Ballāla expired, simultaneously, the entire lot—Kuvara Lakshma, his wife Suggaladēvī and their one thousand followers—all departed from this world by committing suicide.

Religious Faiths: Buddhism

As they do not form religious records, the Edicts of Aśōka cannot be cited as evidence for the prevalence of Buddhism in Karnataka. However, it is known from literary sources that this emperor sent missionaries for the propagation of this religion in this area. Even after the lapse of several centuries this faith did not strike deep roots in this soil. Archaeological and epigraphical evidence reveals that this religion could assert itself in a few centres only like Balligāve, Kadiri, Banavāsi, Goa, Ḍambal, Kōlivāḍ and Sannati, supported by a limited strength of followers. It appears to have lingered on in some spots until the sixteenth century.

Jainism

The position in regard to Jainism was entirely different. This religion covered many parts of Karnataka and exercised such a powerful influence amongst its inhabitants that it enjoyed for some time the privilege of almost universal doctrine. During the sway of the Gangas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas in particular, until the advent of the Later Chālukyas, Jainism played the conspicuous role of a state religion. In the subsequent period it was steadily faced with set backs and decline, though the kings in general followed the liberal policy of safeguarding the interests of all faiths and creeds.

As for the Hoysala regime, the rulers mostly leaned towards Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, as was the case with the Later

Chāl̤ukyas, at the same time paying homage to and conferring patronage on Jainism and other creeds. It is of interest to note that Vishṇuvardhana was Vaishṇavite in persuasion and his queen Śāntaladēvī a staunch Jaina, having Jaina mother and Śaiva father. The view that this king was a Jaina in the beginning and later converted to the Vaishṇava faith by Rāmānuja is not borne out by historical evidence.

Jainism was divided into two main sects, Śvētāmbara and Digambara. Of these, the latter only was prevalent and predominant in Karnataka If at all, the members of the Śvētāmbara sect in this region were just a few. Jainism has contributed immensely to the political history and cultural dimensions of Karnataka, particularly its literary eminence and architectural grandeur

Śaivism and Vaishṇavism

Two other ancient faiths, viz. Śaivism and Vaishṇavism were widely prevalent from an early period and flourished throughout the long centuries. Śaivism was split into orthodox Śaivism of the Vedic tradition, Pāśupata or Lakulīśa sect and the reformist Vīraśaivism Vaishṇavism developed into several phases which were early Vishṇu–Vāsudēva or Bhagavata school, the Vaishṇavism of the Ālvārs of the Tamil land leading to the Rāmānuja school and Vaishṇavism of the Dvaita school of Madhva. The followers of Vishṇu also adored His incarnations and other forms.

Besides the above, there existed the sects or cults of Sūrya or Sun-god, Śakti or Mother goddess, Sarasvatī (Goddess of Learning), Kārttikēya, Gaṇapati and other creeds.

Three Great Teachers

Religion is commonly supported by its own logic and philosophy, which explain its tenets. Thus every religion has its own advocates and teachers In the context of Vedic religion and its literature a number of teachers professing to expound its true meaning and philosophical import appeard on the scene

from time to time. Among them three are reckoned as foremost Āchāryas, viz. Śankara, Rāmānuja and Madhva or Ānandatīrtha. If the first two came into contact with Karnataka in some respects only, the last one was essentially a product of this region.

Śankarāchārya

Śankara took birth in a Nambudiri Brāhmaṇa family at Kālaṭi in Kerala A born genius, he quickly mastered many branches of knowledge and exhibited his astounding scholarship He became a disciple of Gōvinda-Yati and renounced the world He wrote commentaries on the three cardinal treatises of Vedic religion and philosophy, viz. the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa, the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgītā* He propounded the philosophy of Advaita or Monism which stressed the reality of one Supreme Soul and *Jnāna* (knowledge) and *Sanyāsa* (renunciation) as the means of self-realisation. He travelled widely all over India holding disputations with the followers of various schools and refuting their imperfect doctrines He secured many disciples who zealously advanced his philosophy For the spread of Vedic religion and its tenets Śankara founded four pontifical centres of monastic order in the four quarters of India, viz Śṛingēri (in Karnataka, South), Dvārakā (Kathiawar, West), Badrīnāth (Himalayas, North) and Puri (Orissa, East)

Śankara's contributions are monumental He upheld the supremacy of the Vedic religion and philosophy and deprecated the teachings of Buddhism and other sects By manifesting the glory of the Universal Soul he showed the path of emancipation and spiritual attainment His was a message of self confidence, self-reliance and optimism to the sorrowing and distracted humanity Śankara, according to tradition, lived a brief span of thirty-two years, It is likely, he lived longer. Opinions differ in regard to his age, but he appears to have flourished in the eighth century.

Rāmānujāchārya

About the same time when the ascendancy of the god Vishṇu was gaining ground in North India under the Gupta monarchs, devotion to Vishṇu was preached in the Tamil country by a band of saints called Ālvārs. This cult of the deity was later given further impetus by the Brāhmaṇa Āchāryas among whom Nāthamuni and his grandson Yāmunāchārya played a leading role. Rāmānuja belonged to the family related to Yāmunāchārya, residing at Śrī-Perumbudur (Perambur) near Madras He studied under the Vaishṇava teachers at Śrīrangam.

He renounced the life of a householder and became a monk Dissatisfied with the Advaita of Śankara, he formulated a new school of philosophy with Vaishṇavite bias, known as Viśiṣṭā-dvaita or Śrīvaishṇava. According to him the Supreme Being was Vishṇu endowed with unique powers and qualities With His grace He delivered the mortals who surrendered to Him from wordly bondage. He preached his gospel in many learned centres in the north and in the south and by the eminence of his erudition, convincing argument and devotional fervour, he converted many to his philosophy and piety.

Rāmānuja wrote commentaries on the three cardinal treatises and other works He erected Vaishṇavite temples and founded monastic centres. Owing to unfavourable circumstances he left the Tamil country in the reign of Chōla Kulōttunga I who was Śaivite, and settled in the Hoysala kingdom for over two decades, residing mostly at Mēlukoṭe near Mysore. He was received by king Vishṇuvardhara who highly respected him like his preceptor. The credit of popularising in Karnataka the cult of Ranganātha, a form of Vishṇu, goes to him. Rāmānuja lived from 1017 to 1137 A. D

Madhvāchārya

A child named Vāsudēva was born of Brāhmaṇa parents at Pājaka near Udipi in South Kanara He betrayed his extra-

ordinary physical and intellectual powers even from childhood. Acquiring proficiency in many branches of knowledge of the Vedic order, he was initiated into the monastic life at a young age by the teacher Achyutaprēksha After this he assumed the appellations, Ānandatīrtha, Pūrṇaprajna and Madhva. Finding imperfections in the interpretations of the Vedic texts by his predecessors he promulgated his new philosophical school, known as Dvaita or Dualism, also called Vaishṇava. This is also styled by some as the philosophy of Pūrṇa–Brahma Madhva toured and preached his doctrine He wrote commentaries and a large number of treatises on various subjects

Madhva upheld the paramountcy of God Vishṇu who was unequalled, omnipresent and eternal. He was the creator, protector and dispenser of the destinies of all beings The world, the matter, the soul, are all real entities. By doing their prescribed duties with implicit faith and devotion to Him, men can attain the state of final beatitude or eternal joy. Madhva emphasized the supremacy of devotion enlightened with true knowledge as the only means of salvation.

Madhva gathered around him a band of staunch disciples and followers who strove to spread his message. He established a temple of God Kṛishṇa and a cluster of eight monasteries at Uḍipi for the propagation of his faith. His movement found response in Karnataka and in many other parts of South India It made its impact felt even in parts of North India like Bengal. Though opinions differ, Madhva's date may be placed from 1238 to 1317 A. D.

The movements sponsored by these three Great Teachers were reformist in character. They aimed to reform the individual and the society by inculcating high morals, exemplary conduct, piety and spiritual aspirations. Their achievement was cultural uplift and civilized progress

The Cult of Devotion

The motive force of a religion and religious life is fervour, faith and devotion. Devotion or Bhakti as a means of

achieving the highest goal in religion, has acquired along with *Jnāna* (knowledge) and *Karma* (action) special significance and an independent status This Bhakti becomes an important factor in religious advancement. It is therefore treated as a separate cult by itself.

Though the cult of Bhakti was prevalent earlier in one form or another in different phases, Basavēśvara imparted a mighty impetus to it by his persistent zeal and concentration on God Śiva Of the three Great Teachers Śankara had his share in promoting this cult in the context of his theistic approach to religion Rāmānuja and Madhva on the other hand laid great emphasis on devotion to Vishṇu as an effective instrument of salvation One of the direct disciples of Madhva, viz Naraharitīrtha, pioneered in initiating what is known later as the Bhakti movement of the Haridāsas, who popularised it on a large scale among the rank and file of the society by their melodious Kannada compositions

The Bhakti cult to Vishṇu around the deity Viṭhṭhala of Paṇḍharpur assumed magnificent proportions in the course of the later centuries in Maharashtra and Karnataka. But its roots were firmly laid earlier in the Kannada country during the Sēuna-Hoysala period.

The Hoysala king Sōmēśvara, as seen earlier, penetrated into the interior of the Sēuna territory to make a grant to the god Viṭhṭhala of Paṇḍharpur (1236 A. D). This event appears to be rather of relgious than political import. Chauṇḍarasa, a zealous devotee of Viṭhṭhala, who probably belonged to the region near about Paṇḍharpur, wrote the Kannada *champū* work *Abhinavadaśakumāracharite* containing stanzas in praise of the deity, in the closing part of the thirteenth century About the same time Jnānēśvara, Maharashtrian saint and author of the first Marathi work and commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā* (1290 A. D), preached devotion to god Viṭhṭhala in his hymns He clearly states that this god belonged to the Kannada country

With the cult of Viṭhṭhala is now associated in Maharashtra the ritual among His devotees of making well-planned periodical group pilgrimages to Paṇḍharpur. This is known as *vāri*. There is epigraphical testimony to prove that this ritual was in vogue earlier in the Kannada country at least from about the 12th century. It is further noteworthy that the *vāri* ritual, as disclosed by the same evidence, was performed for the sake of Śiva also

Literature : Sanskrit

In earlier contexts we have alluded to the study of Sanskrit which was assiduously cultivated and liberally patronised by the rulers and the cultured aristocracy. Most of the copper plate charters issued by the kings of the ruling dynasties from the Gangas and the Kadambas down to the Hoysaḷas were written in Sanskrit prose and poetic style. Some of these writers must have been learned scholars and authors of repute. Memorable among such is Ravikīrti, the composer of the *praśasti* of Pulakēśi II, engraved on a slab of stone at Aihole in Bijapur district Another notable example is the Sanjan plates which recount the thrilling military achievements of the early Rāshṭrakūṭa monarchs Such epigraphs are to be prized as historical documents in Sanskrit.

The *Nalachampū*, written in the mixed prose and poetic style called *champū*, belongs to the Rāshṭrakūṭa times. It is hailed as the first composition of its kind in Sanskrit. Its author was Trivikrama to whom also is attributed the authorship of the Bagumra copper plate charter of Indra III, dated 915 A. D. It is surmised that the Sanskrit writers borrowed the *champū* style from Kannada. Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharitam* to which reference has been made earlier, is reckoned among the few historical narrative poems in Sanskrit literature. This is yet another contribution of Karnataka to Sanskrit literature.

Adverting to the Hoysala period, it is noteworthy for the rich crop of Sanskrit literary works, secular as well as religious. Pertaining to the first category there flourished a family of scholar-authors, holding the distinguished title *Vidyā-chakravarti*. The first among them adorned the court of Ballala II. His grandson Vidyā-chakravarti II wrote the prose work *Gadya-karṇāmṛita* containing an account of the historic war waged by Narasiṁha II against his southern adversaries. Again his grandson, the third in the series, wrote the *mahākāvya Rukmiṇīka-lyāṇa*. Mention may be made of Trivikramapaṇḍita and his son Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita, credited with the composition of the *Ushāharaṇa* and the *Madhva-vijaya* respectively. The latter is a biography of Madhvāchārya written on the model of a *mahākāvya*.

Works on Advaita philosophy some of which were commentaries on earlier treatises were produced by eminent writers. The more prominent among them were Ānandabōdha, Chitsukha, and Śankarānanda. Rāmānuja wrote *Śrī-bhāshya* and other works expounding his philosophy of qualified monism His presence in the Hoysala country and teachings inspired learned men to follow in his footsteps By composing as many as thirty-seven original works pertaining to a variety of topics, Madhva made a substantial contribution to the religious dogmas and philosophy of the Dvaita School. Jaina and Vīraśaiva scholars advocating their schools also flourished.

Kannada

While discussing the salient features of the Later Chālukya epoch we have indicated in a general way two trends in the Kannada literature, viz. classicism of the old traditional form and romanticism of the new mode. This second trend, it may be noted, was pronounced in a set of writers of a specific school, viz. Vīraśaiva. While this change was taking place in one region, many other writers stuck to the earlier form of expression. These belonged mainly to the Jaina and Brahmanical circles. Thus the state of transition retaining both trends persisted for a

long time through many centuries, particularly during the Later Chālukya – Hoysala period. Variety in the subject matter of literary compositions was another feature of this complex age. And this variety was manifested by the compositions in the scientific field. A few typical instances illustrating the above observations are briefly noticed below.

The *Chāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇa* (978 A. D.), the earliest extant prose work pertaining to the Jaina saints was composed by Chāvuṇḍarāya I, a patron of letters and minister under Ganga Rāchamalla IV. Nāgavarma I's *Chhandōmbudhi* (990 A. D.) is the earliest known treatise on prosody. The *Lōkōpakāra* which deals with miscellaneous topics like astronomy, astrology, sculpture, medicinal herbs, etc was written by Brāhmaṇa Chāvuṇḍarāya II. Śrīdharāchārya's *Jātakatilaka* (1049 A. D.) is a scholarly work on astrology.

A large number of literary inscriptions and poetic epigraphs were written during the Hoysala rule. They let in a fund of information on the various aspects of political conditions, religious faiths and social life of the times. A good many of them were composed by the well known poets like Nāgachandra and Janna.

Two literary persons of Jaina persuasion are ascribed to the court of Ballāla I. One was Nāgachandra (c. 1100 A. D.) or Abhinava Pampa, the author of the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa* and another Kanti, a Jaina talented nun. Brahmaśiva's *Samayaparīkshe* (c. 1100 A. D.) is a Jaina polemic work. Nāgavarma II (c. 1145 A. D.) wrote works on grammar and rhetoric. To Jagaddala Sōmanātha (c. 1175 A. D.) belongs the translated work on medicine, the *Karṇāṭaka Kalyāṇakāraka*. Rājāditya (1190 A. D.) is credited with a number of mathematical works. Nēmichandra (c. 1170 A. D.), author of the romance *Līlāvati* and Janna (1209 A. D.) who was honoured as the 'poet emperor' (*Kavichakravarti*) for his eminent works, flourished in the court of Ballāla II. About the same time lived Rudrabhaṭṭa (1185 A. D.), the Vaishṇavite author of the Champu work *Jagannāthavijaya*. Kēśirāja's *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (c. 1260 A. D.) is a masterly treatise on grammar.

Many were the composers of *Vachanas* in lucid lyrical prose The new Vīraśaiva movement of simple literary forms, apart from the *Vachanas*, was heralded by Harihara (c. 1200 A. D.) and his nephew Rāghavānka. The former sang the glories of the Śaiva saints in the *Ragale* metre. The latter used for the first time the *Shatpadī* metre for his *Hariśchandrakāvya* and other works. Another easy melodious form was *Sāngatya*, appropriated by the Jaina author Śiśumāyaṇa in his *Anjanāchantre* and *Tripuradahana*.

Art and Architecture

Gommaṭēśvara

The Hoysalas inherited from their predecessors, the Gangas, an invaluable treasure which has made Karnataka renowned in the world of sculptural art We make this assertion evidently having in view the unique monolithic colossus of the Jaina divinity Gommaṭēśvara at Śravaṇabelgola. Standing erect about 57 feet high and openly on the top of the Indrabeṭṭa hill, from whose imbedded rock it was scooped and shaped out with marvellous skill, it commands a far-off view of the country for miles around. This magnificent image is the creation of the Ganga minister Chāvuṇḍarāya who got it completed in 983 A D. and thereby earned the worthy title, *Rāya* i e 'king'. It is said to be larger than any of the statues of Rameses in Egypt and in daring conception and gigantic dimensions without a rival in India.

Fine Arts

As in the crafts of polity, so in the arts of peace the Hoysalas scored well on many counts Being enlightened rulers themselves, they zealously contributed to the growth of cultural standards and advancement of the civilized ways of life. With their unfailing encouragement and liberal patronage the aesthetic impulses relating to the fine arts and architecture in particular found their effective expression with uncommon splendour.

Music, dance and dramatic demonstration influenced the noble aspirations and high pursuits among the royal and aristocratic families without barring similar activities of the other social groups Such performances also formed an essential and integral part of the temple routine and rituals. Supported by literary descriptions, sculptured scenes of indulgence in these arts, profusely carved on the walls of the Hoysala temples, reflecting contemporary life, are a standing testimony to the popularity and prevalence of these arts.

The Hoysaḷa Temple

As in other matters, in architecture also the Hoysalas ingeniously adopted the Chālukyan traditions. The Hoysala architecture is a spontaneous outgrowth and natural consummation of the Chālukya architecture which though plain and homogeneous in the beginning, evinced in course of time progressively decorative and diverse tendencies Embellishment, statuary and figure-carving, which played an accessory role in the Chālukyan phase, became the dominant and all-pervasive features in the Hoysala architecture Nicety, refinement and minuteness of details are the special merits in which the Hoysala artists universally excelled

The principal constituents of a Hoysala temple in general are the cella or *garbhagṛiha*, attached vestibule or *sukhanāsi* and connecting pillared hall or *navaranga*; in front of this often stood an open pillared pavilion called *mukhamaṇḍapa*. Specially selected soft dark stone of finest grain was used for the construction of a Hoysaḷa temple. The edifice invariably resting on an elevated platform, was star-shaped from the basement to the tower. The exterior was embellished at lower levels by a succession of horizontal bands of friezes imposed one upon another, containing rows of elephants, horses, *yāḷis*, swans and the like At the upper levels were depicted the scenes of Puranic episodes Below the cornice and the capitals of the pillars were placed handsomely carved female images of elegant

form, known as *madanakai* figures. It is said that the Hoysala artist applied the technique of the ivory-worker or the goldsmith to accomplish his highly finished decorative skill. In exuberance of ornamentation, harmonious blending of the components and masterly execution the Hoysala monuments are superb These surpassing creations of the artists at once evoke within the spectators and the connoisseurs of art alike feelings of delight, wonder and admiration

The Master-pieces

Throughout the Hoysala regime the temple building activity was going on in considerable proportions This pursuit attained its acme in the forty-seven years' reign period of Ballāla II. But on account of the ravages of time and other destructive agencies all the monuments have not survived across the centuries On a rough estimate about ninety temples exist in more or less preserved state to the present day Among them the Chennakēśava of Bēlur, Hoysalēśvara of Halēbīḍ and Kēśava of Sōmanāthapur are the master-pieces of the Hoysala art, eliciting universal praise and unanimous admiration.

Tne Bēlur temple is an exquisite model. Historically it is of great importance It was built under the orders of Vishṇuvardhana in 1117 A. D. to commemorate his triumph over the Chōlas at Talakāḍ. An eminent authority on Western and Eastern architecture, Fergusson considered the temple of Haḷēbīḍ as a gem of architecture surpassing anything in Gothic art. The infinite wealth of sculptural representation on the walls of this shrine raises its status among the most remarkable constructions of the world. According to Percy Brown, it is the supreme climax of Indian architecture in its most prodigal plastic manifestation The Sōmanāthapur temple is a triple shrine in the shape of a cross, perfectly balanced and finely proportioned in its parts It is unparalleled with its stellate towers and elegant sculptures.

These magnificent and marvellous achievements in art and architecture for which any nation can feel truly proud and elated, are replete with historical and cultural import. They eloquently speak of the heights of worth and cultural dignity of the people who designed them They have firmly placed our country on the world map of plastic art.

From the early Chālukyas to the end of the Hoysalas the history of Karnataka moves on in an almost even tenor, the general pattern being the same. However, when we step into the precincts of Vijayanagara, we witness a perceptible change in the political and other phases. Therefore, at this tangibly transitional stage we have paused for a while, as noted hitherto, to take a retrospectively perspective view of certain outstanding factors even from the earlier ages for the sake of presenting a continuous account.

The Hoysala Genealogy

Sala

|

Kāma
(c. 1000-1045 A. D.)

|

Vinayāditya
(c. 1045-1098 A. D.)

|

Ereyaṅga
(c. 1098-1100 A. D.)

Ballāḷa I (1100-1108 A. D.)	Vishnuvardhana (1108-1152 A. D.)	Udayāditya
Ballāladēva	Narsimha I (1152-1173 A. D.)	

Narsimha I
(1152-1173 A. D.)

|

Ballāḷa II
(1173-1220 A. D.)

|

Narasimha II
(1220-1235 A. D.)

|

Sōmēśvara
(1235-1253 A. D.)

Narsimha III (1253-1292 A. D.)	Rāmanātha (1253-1295 A. D.)

Narsimha III
(1253-1292 A. D.)

|

Ballāḷa III
(1292-1342 A. D.)

|

Virūpāksha Ballāḷa IV
(1343-1346 A. D.)

CHAPTER IX

THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

(1336–1565 A. D.)

In the previous chapter we have cursorily indicated the rise of Vijayanagara during the closing period of Ballāla III's reign. Now we propose to present a detailed account of the history of this empire.

Review of Earlier Events

The foundation of the Vijayanagara empire in the 14th century is an epoch-making event not only in the history of Karnataka but also of India. Soon after the intrusion of Allauddin Khilji in the Sēuṇa dominions in 1295 A D., the region south of the Narmadā was convulsed under the fanatic fury and inconoclastic onslaught of the aggressor. Within a narrow span of three decades the entire southern peninsula from Dēvagiri to Rāmēśvaram was virtually brought in the orbit of alien domination. All the four kingdoms of the south became victims of Muslim agrresion. The first to succumb was the Sēuṇa kingdom which fell in 1318 A. D Then came the turn of Warangal which was subjugated in 1323 A. D. The Pāṇḍyan kingdom was overrun and a Muslim governor was posted at Madura in 1330 A. D. The small principality of Kummaṭa which acted as a buffer state between the kingdoms of the Sēuṇas, the Kākatīyas and the Hoysalas, stubbornly withstood the impact of the enemy until its annihilation in 1327 A. D.

The only kingdom that resisted Muslim onslaughts for some more time was that of the Hoysalas. Though conquered more than once, the Hoysala kingdom of Dōrasamudra was not crushed. Its ruler Ballāla III, saved the country from foreign yoke as long as he could act. He shifted his capital from Dōrasamudra to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in North Arcot district and moved about

organising resistance to the enemy. While he was engaged in military operations against the newly set up Muslim Sultanate of Madura, he was treacherously killed at Kannanūr-Koppam near Tiruchirapalli in 1342 A D. at the ripe age of 80 years. After a brief and uneventful reign of the next king Virupāksha Ballāḷa IV, the Hoysala rule came to an end By then the new state of Vijayanagara had already come into being.

The foundation of Vijayanagara

The credit of the foundation of the Vijayanagara kingdom goes to the lead taken by the five enterprising sons of Sangama, a petty chief of noble traditions, claiming descent in the Yādava lineage They were Harihara, Bukka, Kampaṇṇa, Mārappa and Muddappa However, on account of the prominent role played by them, only the first two are generally associated with the event But scholars are not agreed regarding the nationality, original home and early affiliations of these brothers and how they founded the new kingdom No clear and full picture of the actual happenings being available through faithful contemporary sources like the inscriptions, authors have advanced conflicting views on these questions

Thus the foundation of Vijayanagara has remained an unsettled problem in Indian history Although much has been written on the subject and writers have presented their own view-points with positive conclusions, there exists a wide divergence of opinion. Hence we propose to critically examine the thesis here afresh proceeding on the accepted principles of historical research and interpretation.

Principles of Historical Writing

While approaching this proposition we bear in mind the following three accepted principles of historical writing One · epigraphical evidence, contemporary and relevant, wherever available, has to be considered by far the most authentic testimony which should not be ignored or brushed aside in

preference to other sources of information Two: the literary statements of contemporary and near contemporary writers are normally reliable Still, they have to be critically examined before their acceptance Particularly, when such accounts are motivated, emanating in uncongenial atmosphere, their historicity and truthfulness have to be called into question. Three accounts remote from the point of time and space or unrelated to the actual area of occurrence, have to be treated with caution, unless they are supported by the factors like rationality, probability and cogent proof

Muslim Writers

Keeping in view these sound principles, we first examine the statements of three contemporary or near contemporary Muslim writers

According to Barani, in the reign of Muhammad Tughlak a rebellion against the Muslim rule arose under the leadership of Kanya Nayak in the Warangal region. This resulted in the flight of the Sultan's governor of the province to Delhi. About the same time, a relation of Kanya Nayak whom the Delhi Sultan had sent to the Kampili region as its governor, apostatized from Islam and stirred up a revolt This was successful and the territory was lost to the Hindus

Ibn Batuta's version differs in certain details. After describing the subjugation of the Kampili principality by the Sultan's forces, he informs that eleven sons of its ruler were taken as prisoners to Delhi and converted to Islam. Two of them became the trusted servants of the Sultan

Isamy speaks of the loss of territories to the Delhi Sultan as a result of the rebellions in different parts of the empire and alludes to the seizure of the country from Gutti to Ma'bar (south-eastern coastal region) by an apostate

Some scholars have put together the above statements and assumed them as reliable evidences on the foundation of Vijaya-

nagara. They have identified the relation of Kanya Nayak of Barani's narrative and the apostate in Isamy's account as Harihara. Further, equating two equal to two, the two convert sons of the Kampili ruler in Ibn Batuta's narration have been taken to be none else than Harihara and Bukka.

Their Scrutiny

Before entering into the critical examination of these assumptions, we shall first note the discrepancies that exist in the above three narrations which are believed to be acceptable on account of the proximity in time of their authors. Ibn Batuta does not mention the Warangal affairs and the connection between the rebellions at Warnagal and Kampili. Further, his reference to the eleven sons of the Kampili ruler who became converts, is baseless We know from literary sources that all the members of the royal family of the Kampili ruler including his heroic son Rāmanātha fought bravely and died on the battle field This is supported by Nuniz also

If we consider the political conditions amidst which emerged the new state of Vijayanagara we have to heavily discount the assertions of these writers The country was in a state of tumult and turmoil and it was difficult for a remote onlooker to describe the occurrences in the proper perspective and to precisely identify the personages who were involved in the strife None of the above writers could claim to be eye-witnesses or close observers of the events they were narrating. Nor could they be called impartial narrators

Barani wrote from Delhi in the court of Feroz Shah (1351-88 A. D.) some two decades afterwards (c 1357 A. D.). Isamy completed his work in an anti Vijayanagara atmosphere in the Bahamani court about a quarter of a century later (c 1359 A. D.). Ibn Batuta travelled in Muhammad Tughlak's reign. He collected the information in the course of his travels in north and south India and compiled his account from the notes after his return to Africa more than three decades subsequently

(c 1370 A. D.) He had therefore to rely on hearsay and second hand reports from interested persons of set leanings, not always well-informed and unbiassed It would thus be misleading to treat the accounts of these writers as authoritative treatises on Vijayanagara history

Affirmations

Before proceeding further we may make the following affirmations. It would be presumptuous to stress the identity of the relation of Kanya Nayak who, as stated by Barani, founded the kingdom in the Kampili region, with Harihara, as there is no evidence to support the assertion Dynastically no relationship existed between Kanya Nayak and Harihara The former is said to be a son of Kakatiya Prataparudra and the latter was a Sangama Further, it would be a flagrant violation of the principles of historical reconstruction to postulate the connection of the surviving members of the ruling family of Kampili after its destruction (in fact, none survived) with the founders of Vijayanagara, the sons of Sangama, Harihara, Bukka and others who belonged to an entirely different family altogether Ibn Batuta does not state that the two convert sons of the Kampili ruler later went to the Hampi region and founded the kingdom It would again be unwarranted to identify Isamy's apostate with Harihara as no valid grounds exist for such an identification.

Conversion

As for the conversion, it was the refrain and familiar theme of Muslim writers against the 'infidels' No doubt, it was in the air and conversions were taking place on a large scale. It is one thing to generalise the occurrences, and another to cite particular instances which could be tested and fitted in the scheme of events As attested by Ibn Batuta, conversions must have taken place in the aftermath of Kampili. But there is little factual relevance to foist the affair without evidence on Harihara and Bukka By no stretch of imagination can we identify the alleged convert sons of the Kampili ruler with Harihara and Bukka. Both

Barani and Isamy are unanimous in mentioning one apostate and not two. But the real problem is about his identity. It is a facile presumption to argue that it was Harihara and none else. This is a glaring instance of *petitio principii* If the apostate was really Harihara, such an opportunist would not have been accepted as their leader by the orthodox Hindu circles of that age. It has further to be noted in this context that there is absolutely no hint of conversion and reversion in any of the writings on the Hindu side

An eminent authority on the Muslim sources of that period, Prof. H K. Sherwani to whom the question was specifically referred, categorically asserts that he has not come across a single reference in any of the authorities of the period that Bukka and Harrihara had been converted to Islam.

Hindu Accounts

Now we pass on to the Hindu works which contain passages pertaining to the foundation of Vijayanagara. The central part of the narrative may be summed up as follows:

> Harihara and Bukka were two high officials serving as minister and treasurer under Pratāparudra, the Kākatiya ruler of Warangal After the destruction of this kingdom by the Delhi Sultan they fled to the Hampi region. They fought with the king Ballāla and were defeated. Then they took service under Rāmanātha, the ruler of Kampili When this kingdom was subjugated they were taken to Delhi as captives. Impressed by their fortitude and loyalty the Sultan sent them as his deputies to govern the Karnāṭa country. There they met the sage Vidyāraṇya and with his blessings founded a kingdom at Anegondi on the bank of Tungabhadrā.

This anecdote occurs in its variant forms of long and short versions with more or less details. The works which furnish these accounts are in the following chronological order ·

Vidyāraṇya-Kālajnāna (Sanskrit), *Vidyāraṇya-Vrittānta* (Kannada) *Rājakālanirṇaya* (Sanskrit), *Pitāmaha-Samhita* (Sanskrit), *Śiva-tattvaratnākara* (Sanskrit) and *Keladinripavijaya* (Kannada). The story is reproduced and cited in a few other literary works also.

The Warangal Origin Theory

This account is implicitly believed by some modern historiographers who have given it wide currency by frequent repetitions It has not been properly scrutinized by applying the methods of historical research Still, it has been largely accepted as true history Hence we consider it imperative to examine this theory thoroughly and critically. The following facts emerge from a judicious study of this version

Firstly, the sources mentioned above belong to the period ranging from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century The first among them, the *Vidyāraṇya Kālajnāna*, purports to draw an account, though erroneous, of the rule of the Sangama dynasty till it ended i e 1485 A D It is alleged that the sketch was prepared as narrated by Vidyāraṇya who, as we know, actually lived in the second half of the fourteenth century. As for the term Kālajnāna, the Vīraśaiva writers of Karnataka in the sixteenth and later centuries popularised the devise of relating the past events in the form of predictions, which is known as *Kālajnāna* The above literary piece is more legendary and far less historical in many respects. The Vīraśaiva influence can clearly be detected in the above *Kālajnāna* from an allusion therein to the legend of Rēvaṇasiddha Yōgi.

The last of the series, the *Keladinripavijaya* which abounds in late legendary material, makes some fanciful statements like the matrimonial alliances of Harihara and Bukka with the Kuruba i. e. shepherd families. This work was completed about the end of the eighteenth century. From this it becomes evident that all these literary accounts, besides being late by three to five centuries, are of the nature of popular legends and floating

traditions. To attempt to build up history on such fragile materials having no firm base of history, would lead us astray from the path of true history.

Scrutiny

Secondly, the statement that Harihara and Bukka were originally at Warangal serving under Pratāprudra, lacks the support of genuine evidence If they really were highly responsible officers in that kingdom, as alleged, it is really strange and surprising that they figure in none of the records of the reign of Pratāparudra, and for that matter nowhere else in the political literature of the period although a good number of other officials and chiefs of this reign are known from inscriptions and other sources. Further, it is inexplicable why, instead of remaining loyal and on the spot in the time of distress to serve their people and country as loyal officers of the state, they fled like mercenary soldiers of fortune to another kingdom, namely that of Kampili, whose relations with their home province were unfriendly. This is vouched if we study the events of Pratāparudra's reign and the activities of Rāmanātha of Kampili, narrated in detail in the Kannada literary works.

In a late Kannada work, the *Kumāra-Rāmana Kathe* of the sixteenth century, relating the story of the above Rāmanātha, occur the names Bhāva Sangama, Bhaṇḍāri Harihara and Bhaṇḍāri Bukka This Bhāva Sangama was brother in law of Rāmanātha. He had no connection with Harihara's father Sangama. Some writers have sought to identify the next two personages bearing the attribute *Bhaṇḍāri* with Harihara and Bukka of Vijayanagara without any grounds whatsoever. There is no other argument except the identity of names to substantiate this view. Mere identical names themselves are the most deceptive phenomena in historical reconstruction. The other consideration that militates against this opinion is that in the literary works they are introduced in a casual manner without reference to their kinship and distinguished status. Besides

the above narrative, there are two more literary works in Kannada describing the life of Rāmanātha. In none of these works do we come across a reference to the taking service of Harihara and Bukka of Vijayanagara under Rāmanātha. If this was really a historical fact, the authors would not have failed to mention such an important and creditable position.

Thirdly, the entire edifice of the Warangal origin theory of the founders is demolished by the most authentic and unimpeachable testimony of epigraphs. If the founders of Vijayanagara did really hail from Warangal, it is beyond comprehension why among the large number of contemporary inscriptions on stone and copper plates of the Sangama dynasty studied so far, there is not a single record, making a passing reference, or even the faintest suggestion, to connect the founders of Vijayanagara with the Telugu country or the kingdom of Warangal. If they had actually stayed at Warangal and served in the Kākatīya court earlier, there was nothing derogatory in mentioning this fact. On the contrary, their connection with the distinguished royal family would certainly have enhanced their prestige and reputation.

A Nellore Inscription

Following the wrong course of historical reconstruction, a lone epigraphical instance of questionable interpretation has been cited by Prof. N. Venkataramanayya to prop up the preconceived notion of Warangal origin of the founders of Vijayanagara. This is an inscription from Gozalavīdu alias Vāgupalli in Kanigiri Taluk of Nellore District. It introduces the illustrious ruler Bukkarāya Oḍeya. Judging from his sovereign title *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, his characteristic epithets, some of which are Kannada, *Arirāyavibhāḍa*, *Bhāsheye-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa* and the like, commonly associated with the Vijayanagara kings, and also his description as the worshipper of the god Virūpāksha, the tutelary deity of Vijayanagara, this Bukkarāya could be none else than Bukka I (1356-77 A. D.), the co-founder of Vijaya-

nagara The published text of the record is defective and we have reliable evidence to assert that the date of the epigraph is Śaka 1296 (1374 A. D) and not Śaka 1236 (1314 A. D). With this correction the inscription becomes historically authentic in all respects.

It is interesting to note that another inscription dated just three years later (1377 A. D) is found at Guruvajipeṭa near-about in the same Kanigiri Taluk. This belongs to the reign of Bukka I's successor Harihara II. These and other early inscriptions of the Andhra area, it may be noted, are very useful otherwise, as they substantiate the claims of Harihara I and his brothers that they were masters of the eastern and western seas.

Without proper scrutiny, the Gozalavīdu inscription was first taken by the above scholar to be a Kākatīya record and Bukkarāya Oḍeya identified with Sangama's father Bukka. The epigraph, as seen above, has no trace of Kākatīya connection. Further, the proposed identification of Bukkarāya is untenable; for, Harihara's father Sangama and grand-father Bukka, were almost insignificant chiefs of some local status, who are never known to have assumed distinguished titles and set up any epigraphical records Subsequently, this Bukkarāya was taken to be Bukka I, serving as a subordinate of Kakatīya Pratāparudra in 1314 A. D. But, as discussed above, this is a presumption having absolutely no basis of reliable evidence. Chronologically, it bears no scrutiny and is inconsistent with historiccal facts.

Historical Instances

There are instances in history, of enterprising chiefs migrating from one region and settling in another, who recall their original home, ancestry and nationality with due pride for a long time to come The most outstanding instances are the Sēnas of Bengal and Karṇāṭas of Mithilā (northern Bihar), who invariably mention in their official records the fact of their having originally belonged to the Kshatriya clan of Karṇāṭa Similarly, if Harihara

and Bukka were immigrants from Andhra, they and their descendants would have, in one context or another, referred to that event in the records of their family, which are numerous. The Warangal origin theory therefore stands refuted at both the ends, from the inscriptions of Andhra on the one hand and of Karnāṭaka on the other

Historical Conclusion

The above survey and scrutiny of the various sources in the proper perspective leads to the irresistible historical conclusion that the founders of Vijayanagara never belonged to the Telugu region, serving in the court of Pratāparudra at Warangal It further disproves the story of their migration to Kampili and seeking service under its ruler. Similarly, we have to dismiss as untrue the account of their captivity and conversion by the Delhi Sultan. It also follows from this that they did not apostatize and, like political opportunists, re-entering into the Hindu fold, found the Hindu kingdom The whole patched up account has therefore to be discarded as unhistorical jumble.

Lastly, it is possible to suggest how and under what circumstances the Warangal origin theory would have gathered strength and gained wide currency. It appears, the closer contacts that developed between Karnataka and Telangana regions in the time of Kṛishṇadēvarāya (1509–1529 A D) and the patronage extended by this king to the Telugu literature and Telugu poets would have given added force and fillip to this floating tradition

Light From Epigraphical Sources

Thus, wading through the mass of imperfect and ill-informed observations and late legendary tales, we approach the epigraphical sources in the Kannada country to derive true historical light from their study Inadequate and incomplete though the material, whatsoever information it provides is none the less decisive and trustworthy, revealing glimpses of historical facts pertaining to the foundation of Vijayanagara

Regarding the ancestors of the founders enough details are not forthcoming from the epigraphs. This might be due to their not being distinguished personages Some vague references are found about Harihara's grandfather Bukka The inscriptions, however, state that this family belonged to the Yādava lineage. Harihara's father Sangama is spoken of in a number of inscriptions. Of particular significance are the statements which identify him with the Hampi region and the Karnāṭa country. This testimony of epigraphs conclusively establishes the fact that the ancestral territory of the founders was Karnataka and that the area round about Hampi constituted their home land

Family Ties

Further, the matrimonial alliances and family ties of the founders with the royal house of the Hoysalas and their officers, their political activities and religious convictions and affiliations would all strengthen the above findings. This may be seen from the following brief review.

Dadiya Sōmaya was a dignitary of high status, related to Ballāla III and holding the responsible posts of general, governor and chief minister in the Hoysala kingdom He had married the Hoysala king's sister and had two sons, Singeya and Ballappa, both of whom held high offices. Ballappa again had married a daughter of Harihara Thus by virtue of his own ability and blood relationship Harihara attained prominence and enjoyed an exalted position in the Hoysala political circles.

Ballāḷa's Foresight

After the conquest of the Kākatīya kingdom (1323 A D.) and destruction of the Kampili principality (1327 A. D.), the might of the Muslim aggressor was increasingly perceptible on the Hoysala kingdom From 1330 A D. onward Ballāla III is seen active in the northern frontiers organising the defences against the invader. It was a critical period for this intrepid warrier and statesman. He had passed the age of seventy and was drooping in physical strength. He might have experienced

the difficulty of protecting his far-flung dominions from Hampi to Rāmēśvaram against the onslaught of the enemy.

When the governance over a vast kingdom becomes unwieldy, its partition or division is one of the courses some times followed. This was done formerly, as seen earlier, in the Hoysala regime itself. But such a measure was fraught with danger and unthinkable in the present circumstances. Ballāla III had only one son, Virupāksha Ballāla IV, but this prince was incapable of coping up with the situation Another alternative was the decentralization of authority and delegation of powers Ballāla III adopted this latter course as it was the best suited for the occasion. The most competent and trustworthy among his high officials was *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Harihara who could save the country from the perilous situation. He was youthful and energetic and had manifested his ability by his faithful services to the state and the overlord. He had the advantage of receiving support from his capable brothers It thus appears, Ballāla III gave Harihara a free hand and necessary encouragement to follow his own line of action in the northern part of his dominions. Harihara, as the results show, discharged his task successfully, remaining at the same time steadfastly loyal to his master.

Harihara's Rise To Power

Harihara started on his new venture by consolidating his authority and concentrating his resources in the ancestral region of Hampi Around this nucleus of his power he was carving out a new kingdom of his own and laying foundations of the mighty would be Vijayanagara empire While the political authority of Harihara was augmenting in the north, the sovereignty of Ballāla III was, by loss of vigour, waning in the south Within a short time of just four years after the tragic death of the latter in 1342 A. D., the Hoysala dynasty came to an end. By 1346 A D the foundations of the new kingdom of Vijayanagara were laid truly and firmly, most of the territory to the south of the Tungabhadrā having passed under its founders.

Though 1346 A. D. marks the culmination of the above event, it was a gradual rise of power spreading over a decade from 1336 A. D. onward The following strides in the ascending order of Harihara's career serve as milestones in his march towards the achievement

At the strategic town of Bārakūr on the west coast, Harihara constructed a fort in 1336 A D This may be considered as a major event in his freedom movement which had gathered momentum by this time The purpose of establishing the new kingdom and centre of political activity being the liberation of the country from the clutches of the enemies who had stretched themselves from east to west, it was in the fitness of things that Harihara immediately launched his offensive in the two regions and won initial successes within a short time This is attested by two epigraphical records dated in 1339 and 1340 A. D.

The first, coming from Aṭakalaguṇḍu in Kurnool district, states that Harihara who bore the title *Pūrva-paśchima-samudrādhipati* (Lord of the Eastern and Western Seas), was ruling from Gutti The second is from Bādāmi which refers to the construction of a fort in this place at the instance of Harihara by his subordinate Chāmarasa. In this inscription Harihara is again described as Lord of the Eastern and Western Seas. Further, he is endowed with the characteristic Vijayanagara sovereign titles, *Ariirāyavibhāḍa* and *Bhāsheqe-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa*, which were familiarised subsequently In another epigraph of the same year (1340 A. D.), located in the heart of the Hoysala kingdom, Harihara is seen in a still more elevated position. He is given the hyperbolic title, *Chatuḥ-samudrādhipati* (Master of the Four Seas) and said to be ruling the kingdom of the world. He also bore the above Vijayanagara titles.

From a Kannada inscription at Koḍumūru in Kurnool district we come to know that Harihara was functioning from his headquarters at Gutti in the beginning of 1340 A. D. Through this and other allusions to Gutti we can surmise that

in the early stage, this chief was operating in the Hampi-Gutti belt which was his stronghold. Stationed in this central position, he could conveniently extend his activities towards the east and west The title *Śrī-Bhaṇḍāri* (the illustrious Lord of the Treasury) borne by Harihara in this record is suggestive of his secure financial position.

By 1342 A D Harihara's sovereignty was firmly rooted in the western coastal tract and the Muslim governor of Honavar owed his allegiance to him Next year (1343 A D.) again he is found enjoying all the supreme titles, *Mahārājadhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara*, *Vīrapratāpa* and *Mahārāya*. With the death of Ballāla IV the Hoysala rule ended in 1346 A. D By this time Harihara had achieved his objective and was crowned with success, complete and supreme He had vanquished the enemies and freed the country from their hands. With a view to celebrating the festival of victory he now proceeded to the renowned religious centre of Śringēri, accompanied by his brothers and near relations and made grants to the venerable pontiff Bhāratī-tīrtha.

We may further note that Harihara's younger brother Kampaṇṇa Odeya, bearing the distinguished epithet, Lord of the Eastern and Western Seas, is found ruling in the area around Nellore, slightly later in 1346 A D He had under him a chief minister. Obviously, Kampaṇṇa must have been a close associate of Harihara in his freedom struggle.

Thus it becomes clear that Harihara's rise and foundation of the new kingdom of Vijayanagara took place not in defiance and opposition to the authority of his overlord Hoysala Ballāla III, but with his cognizance, approval and even active support. There is not a single instance of estrangement and conflict between the master and his subordinate. This is a rare instance of a suzerain giving freedom to his subordinate chief to expand and carve out a new kingdom within his own dominions. The situation was unprecedented and the circumstances extraordinary,

and hence the needs of the time demanded such a course In regard to Virupāksha Bāllala IV, son and successor of Ballāla III, he was weak and had no initiative. As a nominal king he survived till 1346 A D, three years after his coronation in 1343 A D

Hoysala–Harihara Amity

These observations are substantiated by a study of the epigraphs speaking from the two sides, Harihara and Ballāla III. Those belonging to the former are noticed above The following offer their testimony on behalf of the latter.

We have seen that in 1336 A. D Harihara built a fort at Bārakur which was an outpost of strategic importance in the Hoysala dominions Two years later, in 1338 A. D Ballāla III himself paid a visit to this place to see the army stationed there. Ballāla III again is found at Hampi in 1339 A D This was the time when Harihara's influence was growing in the north as seen from the two records of this and the next year, cited above. It was in the latter year (1340 A. D.) that the Hoysala ruler's son prince Virupāksha was anointed as crown prince at Hampi. The inference drawn on the strength of the above evidence that in 1336 A D Harihara was installed as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* (Great Provincial Governor) in the northern territory of the Hoysala empire with the support of his overlord, is not only reasonable, but stands as a valid conclusion

This position becomes perfectly intelligible if we take into account the kinship that existed between the two great dynamic leaders, the noble ideals of preserving their freedom, civilization, and culture, that inspired them, mutual understanding, co-operation and harmony in following well thought-of plans, and finally the consorted actions that would lead to the accomplishment of their cherished goal.

Transfer Of Power

The installation of Harihara as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* in the Hampi region was pregnant with great consequences. It ushered

in within a short time sovereignty and mastery over a large kingdom to the members of the Sangama dynasty. Hence though this designation actually and usually connoted a subordinate position of a provincial governor under an overlord, it proved to be a title of distinction and a symbol of sovereignty in the case of Harihara. Hence, it appears, Harihara and his successors considered it a proud privilege to enjoy this exalted title divested of its normal implications, even when they became independent rulers after the extinction of the Hoysala power. This is attested by numerous inscriptions in which we find Harihara, Bukka, the latter's successor Harihara II and even his later descendant Dēvarāya II assuming the distinguished title *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* along with the sovereign and imperial titles like *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rājaparamēśvara* and *Mahārāya*. We may further note that their willing association with this title is a firm evidence of their unflinching loyalty to the Hoysala house. It is attested by the above cited epigraphs and others that there existed no differences and conflict between Ballāla III and Harihara. Relying on the assertions in the *Vidyāraṇya-Kālajñāna* some scholars have seen the state of hostile relations between Ballāla III and Harihara. This is totally wrong

The transfer of sovereignty from the Hoysalas to the Sangamas was quite smooth. It was as though a succession in the same ruling family. In numerous inscriptions the Vijayanagara rulers refer themselves as ruling over the Hoysala country. This points to their awareness of being the political descendants and heirs of the Hoysaḷas. The officials at the provincial and lower levels in the Hoysala kingdom continued *status quo* in the new regime. The administrative machinery remained unchanged following the same time-honoured procedures and practices. The religious policy of catholicity and supreme tolerance of the Hoysaḷas was similarly practised, it was even implemented on a larger scale. The Sangamas were ardent devotees of the gods Śrī-Virūpāksha of Hampi and Śrī-Chennakēśava of Bēlūr who were devoutly worshipped by their predecessors of the Hoysala

house. The family god of the Vijayanagara kings throughout remained a Karnataka deity. The adoption of the pontiffs of Śṛingēri as their revered teachers and spiritual guides and the Pāśupata Kriyāśaktis as their family priests by the Sangamas is yet another testimony of their unquestionable identity with the Hoysala country and Karnataka.

Further Evidence

In addition to what is stated above, a volume of further evidence can be adduced to support and emphasize the conclusion regarding the Kannada affinity and identity of Vijayanagara. However, we note just a few select facts here

The coins of the early rulers of Vijayanagara like Bukka I and Dēvarāya, followed the earlier models of the Kadambas and the Sēuṇas in having Hanumān and Garuḍa as their symbolic gods and the legends in Kannada characters.

God Virūpāksha of Hampi was adopted as their tutelary deity by the Vijayanagara kings, particularly of the first Sangama dynasty. The name of this deity was also commonly used as their sign-manual by the ruling kings while issuing their copper-plate charters. It is noteworthy that this sign-manual, viz. Śrī-Virūpāksha, was consistently engraved in Kannada characters at the end of all royal documents which were usually written in Sanskrit and Nāgarī. We may also note the partiality of the Vijayanagara kings for the Kannada titles in particular in the midst of a good number of Sanskrit titles also, which they assumed. The instances to the point are the earliest and almost universal title *Bhāshege-tappuva-rāyara-gaṇḍa* and the subsequent *Gajavēṇṭekāra*, *Rāya-mūvara-gaṇḍa* and others.

Sanskrit And Telugu Poets

Gangādēvī in her *Madhurāvijayam* refers to the Vijayanagara territory as Karṇāṭa and describes Bukka I's son Kumāra Kampaṇṇa as the glory of the Karṇāṭa race

A matter of outstanding significance is that the Telugu poets and authors of the Vijayanagara period, while mentioning the Vijayanagara kings, unequivocally describe them as the Lords of Karṇāṭa and Karṇāṭa kings For instance, Vinukoṇḍa Vallabharāya in his Telugu poem *Krīḍābhirāmam* calls Bukkarāya I as Karṇāṭa-kshitinātha The eminent Telugu poet Śrīnātha who was honoured in the court of Vijayanagara, addresses the Vijayanagara kingdom as *Kannaḍa-rājya-lakshmī* and king Dēvarāya II as *Karṇāṭa-kshitipāla*. Nandi Timmayya, a Telugu court-poet of Krishṇadēvarāya's court refers to the king as Śrī-Karṇāṭamahīśa in his *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*

Krishṇadēvarāya

In spite of his zealous patronage to the Telugu poets and literature, Krishṇadēvarāya was widely popular as a Kannada king and unmistakably acclaimed as such by all. He bore the conspicuous title *Kannaḍa-rājya-ramā-ramaṇa* (God Vishṇu, the Lord of the Kannada kingdom) In the Sanskrit drama *Jāmbavatī-kalyāṇam* of this king the tutelary God Virūpāksha of Vijayanagara is praised as *Karṇāṭa-rājya-rakshāmaṇi* (The Guardian Jewel of Karṇāṭa kingdom) A Telugu inscription at Singarāyakoṇḍa in Kandukūr Taluk of Nellore District, dated 1527 A D., eulogises this king as Beloved of the Goddess of Karṇāṭa Kingdom (*Karṇāṭa-rājya-lakshmī-manōhara*). This epigraphical testimony carries over riding weightage

Kannada Inscriptions

The stone inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings found all over the wide areas of Karnataka throughout their reign period are in Kannada only. Kannada language and literature progressively flourished during the reigns of the rulers of all the three dynasties, Sangama, Sāluva and Tulu. In the literary works produced in these times and also those belonging to the rule of the later Āravīḍu dynasty which had closer contacts with the Telugu country, Vijayanagara is noticed as Karṇāṭa-rājya and

Karṇāṭa-simhāsana. Lastly, the Muslim historian Ferishta writing in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the glory of Vijayanagara had faded away, incessantly refers to the kings of Vijayanagara as *Roies of Carnatic.*

Historical Distortions

Prof. K. A. N. Sastri's sketch of Vijayanagara in his *A History of South India* (Third Edition, 1966) is misleading because of its imaginary conception It is distortion of history. The following points emerge from his account.

1. Harihara and Bukka hailed from Warangal. After the fall of this kingdom they went to Kampili to serve under its ruler. After the destruction of this principality by the Sultan they were carried off to Delhi and converted to Islam Later, as trusted agents of the Sultan they were sent to the Ānegondi region to govern Soon they gave up Islam and the cause of Delhi and entering into the Hindu fold again, founded the Vijayanagara kingdom. Muslim historians and Hindu tradition both agree on this.

2. Soon after the subjection of Warangal a freedom movement was started in the Telangana area. After the death of its sponsor Prolaya Nāyaka, it was continued by his cousin Kāpaya Nāyaka who attempted to restore Hindu rule and Hindu Dharma Kāpaya allied himself with Ballāla III who sent him aid Both these leaders succeeded in ousting the Muslim garrisons from the northern districts of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and restored the rule of the native chiefs of the Śambuvarāya family. Success of the revolts of the Hindu chiefs in the other parts of Telangana completely broke the power of the Delhi Sultan all over the Deccan except in the Maratha provinces. In Ma'bar half the territory had been recoverd for Hindu rule.

3. This anti-Islamic movement disturbed the loyalty of Harihara and Bukka to the Sultan and kindled in their minds a longing to serve their country and their ancestral religion. Their meeting with Vidyāraṇya furnished them with the means of following the promptings of their hearts. This spiritual leader received them back from Islam to Hinduism and rendered the act acceptable to Hindu society. Thus the trusted Muslim agents of the Sultan turned out to be the founders of one of the greatest Hindu states of history.

4. The people had never willingly accepted Muslim rule. At this time, moreover, they and their leaders were under the influence of a strong revival of Śaivism. In its single-minded devotion to Śiva, its fanatical intolerance of the followers of any other creed and in its ideal of perfect equality among the *bhaktas*, the new Śaivism was a worthy rival of Islam and the impetus it gave to politics had not a little to do with the failure of Tughlak rule.

The above views of the learned historian are no better than a bunch of legends in the modern garb. This becomes clear if we examine them critically. In the first instance, the story of Harihara and Bukka hailing from Warangal, their subsequent service under the rule of Kampili and their capture and conversion to Islam by the Delhi Sultan is entirely fictitious. Secondly, to cite Hindu tradition in support of their later apostasy and foundation of Vijayanagara is misrepresentation of facts. Thirdly, the impression created by the account about Harihara and Bukka that they were unscrupulous opportunists without character and integrity is perversion of truth. This is realised if we look into the status, career and performance of Harihara as portrayed above with the help of epigraphical sources.

Fourthly, the role of the Telangana Nāyakas in the freedom struggle is exaggerated. It stands to the credit of Prōlaya,

Kāpaya and other chiefs of this region who soon rebelled against the alien domination and asserted their independence. But these insurrections were localised and more or less isolated. Evidence is lacking to believe that they formed part of a consorted plan of action, initiated and led by the Telugu Nāyakas On the contrary, inscriptional evidence is ample in the case of the founders of Vijayanagara who had a broader vision of freeing south India from the enemy's hands, restoring Hindu rule and protecting Hindu religion and culture

Above all, it is an astounding perversion and fallacy to affirm that Harihara and Bukka were inspired by the example of the Telugu chiefs in their patriotic fervour and noble ideals to rescue Hinduism from the state of annihilation Ballāla's movement, in fact, had started earlier. Later history shows that the freedom-loving Nāyakas of Telangana did not establish any strong and united kingdom of their own like Vijayanagara. On the other hand, the southern Telugu areas were soon merged in this empire, constituting its integrated province under the rule of a governor This erroneous view stands discredited by the testimony of epigraphs.

Yet another untenable argument is with regard to the role played by the strong revivalist movement of Śaivism and its influence on the leaders of the freedom struggle. This movement had taken place in Karnataka as early as in the twelfth century. Avowedly it was a peaceful socio-religious reformist movement and in spite of its emphasis on single-minded devotion to Śiva and disapproval of other creeds it did not meddle with politics. Its comparison with Islam is unwarranted. Secondly, it received a temporary set back in 1167 A D and survived in a suppressed state thereafter for about two and a half centuries until its rise in a vitalized frame in the fifteenth century under Vijayanagara. At the time of the foundation of Vijayanagara in the fourteenth century this faith was not in a powerful position. Hence there is no evidence to substantiate the plea. Epigraphical records reveal that the teachers of the Pāśupata

school called Kriyāśakti wielded influence with the early Sangama rulers besides the pontiffs of Śṛingēri. The historical events reveal that from the Tungabhadrā to Rāmēśvaram the liberation movement in South India was spontaneous, actuated by the spirit of independence and urge of self-preservation

The Vidyaranya Problem

Deep-rooted Tradition

The belief based on a deep-rooted tradition is widely prevalent, ascribing the foundation of Vijayanagara to the sage Vidyāraṇya. An oft-cited story related in this context also is that Harihara while on a hunt in the Hampi region, noticed a hare turning against his dogs. When he consulted a hermit nearby about this strange incident, he was told that it was a strong place where he should erect a capital for the kingdom.

Accordingly, Harihara built a city which was known as Vidyānagara after the hermit and also named as Vijayanagara ('the city of victory') The hermit of the story is said to be Mādhavāchārya, subsequently called Vidyāraṇya ('the forest of learning'), who ruled the kingdom for some time and passed it over to Harihara Thus Vidyāraṇya is believed to be the originator of Vijayanagara and the Guru (preceptor) of its founders

Vidyāraṇya Comes Late

Apart from the tradition, Vidyāraṇya is known to have been a great scholar, spiritual guide, saint and renowned pontiff, adorning the holy monastic establishment at Śṛingēri, founded by Śankarāchārya. Modern scholars have questioned the authenticity of the above tradition on the ground of non-existence of historical evidence in support of it. The evidence available shows that Vidyāraṇya came into contact with Vijayanagara two decades after the traditional date of its foundation in 1336 A. D.

The following facts are noteworthy in this connection. Inscriptions reveal that the teachers belonging to the Kālāmukha or Pāśupata school of Śaivism, carrying the specific sobriquet Kriyāśakti were the family priests and royal preceptors (*Rājaguru*) of the early kings of Vijayanagara At the same time, it is also proved epigraphically that the same rulers cherished great attachment and supreme reverence for the pontiffs of Śṛingēri including Vidyāraṇya. It is seen that after the foundation of the new kingdom, the five sons of Sangama proceeded to Śṛingēri in 1346 A. D. to pay their tribute and acknowledge their indebtedness to Vidyātīrtha, the senior pontiff of the monastery and made liberal grants to his disciple pontiff Bhāratītīrtha and others. Vidyāraṇya is conspicuous by his absence on this august occasion. In fact, he was not there at that time.

Vidyāraṇya's contact with Vijayanagara begins only in the reign of Harihara's brother and successor Bukka I In 1356 A. D. by a special invitation of the latter, which was endorsed by Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya who was residing in Vārāṇasi, came down to Vijayanagara and went to Śringēri thereafter. In 1375 A. D. Vidyāraṇya succeeded Vidyātīrtha, according to epigraphs, as the head of the Śṛingēri Maṭha. He remained in that position till he expired in 1386 A. D. During this period Bukka I and his son and successor Harihara II lavishly exhibited their devotion to this teacher

Prominence of Vidyātīrtha

Thus, it becomes plain that at the time of the foundation of Vijayanagara, Vidyātīrtha, also called Vidyāśankara, was the leading pontiff of Śṛingēri Matha. Vidyāraṇya was then a junior monk of the monastery, engaged in studies and spiritual pursuits, residing elsewhere, probably most of the time at Vārāṇasi itself. He is said to have been ordained in 1331 A. D.

Vidyātīrtha is highly praised in inscriptions pertaining to Harihara and Bukka. Reading through such descriptions we can assume that this Guru of Śṛingēri not only conferred his

spiritual blessings for the success of the political venture of the sons of Sangama, but also materially rendered them assistance from the vast resources at his disposal. This explains the ties of intimacy and deep veneration that developed across the centuries between Śṛiṅgēri Gurus and Vijayanagara kings. Such relationship of the Vijayanagara rulers with Śṛiṅgēri Gurus, particularly during the early period, is not at variance with their employing the Kālāmukha teachers as family priests, for no exclusiveness was followed then in the matter of paying respect to more than one venerable teacher at a time and choosing him as guide and preceptor.

Vidyāraṇya's Supremacy

Vidyātīrtha and his younger disciple Vidyāraṇya were highly distinguished personages of the age. By their profound scholarship, subtle philosophical insight, religious leadership, spiritual attainments and ministerial longevity, they wielded vast influence over extensive regions Vidyāraṇya seems to have even surpassed his master by his proficiency in several branches of knowledge and authorship of many works. Vidyāraṇya's intimacy with and influence over Bukka who was the co-founder of Vijayanagara, might have led to the belief, though erroneous, that this teacher had earlier inspired Harihara also in his undertaking. Historically, we need not fight shy of the name Vidyānagara mentioned in some early inscriptions with reference to Vijayanagara, for we may reasonably connect it with Vidyātīrtha also, if not with Vidyāraṇya. Father Heras has viewed this question with prejudice and unnecessarily cast aspersions on the integrity of the Śṛiṅgēri Gurus as a whole

If great men radiate their lustre both ways, forward and backward, we can attribute this phenomenon to Vidyāraṇya. With the rise of Vijayanagara in its splendour the stature of Vidyāraṇya rose in the eyes of succeeding generations, eclipsing all.

The Sangama Dynasty
(1336-1485 A. D.)

We have dealt at length how and under what circumstances the new kingdom of Vijayanagara was founded by Harihara aided by his four brothers The new dynasty that commenced its rule thenceforth is called Sangama after the father of the five brothers Now we give an account of the capital city of the new state, its ideals and describe the reigns of the members of this house that ruled in succession

The Capital City

The new kingdom came to be known after its capital Vijayanagara which was built in a secure tract amidst the hills on the southern bank of the Tungabhadrā. Within the range of the new capital and forming its outskirt lay the old nucleus town of Ānegondi on the northern bank of the river It had been strengthened by Ballāla III with fortifications to resist the inroads of the enemy. Vijayanagara is now represented by extensive ruins of Hampi near Hospet in Bellary district.

The site of the capital was hallowed by ancient traditions connecting it with the region of Pampā and also Kishkindhā, the capital of Vānara king Vāli, described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is mentioned as Pampā-tīrtha in a copper-plate record of the seventh century. In an eleventh century inscription it is called Pampāpura and its presiding deity Virupāksha is referred to as Mahākāla. This region was earlier under the Later Chālukyas and subsequently it was included in the Hoysala kingdom Two records in the Virupāksha temple, dated 1199 and 1237 A. D. respectively, register gifts of land and revenue incomes to that deity. The second epigraph belongs to the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara. The place figures in other epigraphical records and Sanskrit and Kannada literature also The capital city is mentioned in the inscriptions of the period under different names such as Ānegondi, Kunjarakōṇa, Virupākshapura, Hosapaṭṭaṇa,

Hosa-Hampeyapattaṇa, Hastināvatī, Hampe-Hastināvatī, Vidyānagara and Vijayanagara, reminiscent of the historical background associated with each of them

Ideals of The Founders

A study of the factors that contributed to the creation of Vijayanagara reveals that its founders were inspired by patriotic ideals and spirit of freedom and sacrifice These ideals comprised the protection, preservation and promotion of the peoples' rule, their social organization, indigenous culture in all its aspects such as religion and religious institutions, traditional learning, lores, literature and arts The history of this empire seen through the constructive works of its rulers, stands eloquent testimony to the fact that those ideals and aspirations were translated into action to the best of their ability.

These principles expressed themselves in a variety of forms One was their sign-manual *Śrī-Virūpāksha* inscribed in Kannada characters at the end of their copper-plate documents This manifests their firm faith in God and belief that they were His instruments Whosoever be the ruler issuing the charter, it was assigned in the name of this guardian deity of the empire Instances of such a spiritual element in the matters of the state are rare in history The Boar crest which was their insignia, indicated their achievement in establishing orderly government by eradicating the chaotic conditions Earlier, this crest had been adopted by the great Chalukyas whose example they followed. As stated in a literary passage the objectives of Vijayanagara were the protection of the gods and religious faiths of the people and the advancement of their material, moral and cultural welfare. Sometimes, they used the paramount title, *Pūrva-paśchima-Lakshaṇa-samudrādhipati*, signifying supremacy over entire south India. Their title *Hindūraya-Suratrāṇa* (overlord of the gods, the Hindu kings) implies their mission of fostering the Hindu political ideals and institutions. *Suratrāṇa* is a counter title to Persian *Sultan*. Vijayanagara thus stood for all that was best and noblest in the Hindu national life and culture

Harihara I (1336–1356 A. D.)

Sangama was the first of the three dynasties that ruled Vijayanagara in succession. The first ruler of this house was Sangama's eldest son Harihara I who founded the new kingdom in collaboration with his brothers. He ruled for about two decades with the co-operation of his brothers who held charge of the different provinces Thus, Kampanna governed the eastern coastal region of Andhra, designated Udayagiri–rājya (Nellore and Cuddapah districts). Bukka was *yuvaraja* and he administered the central region of Dōrasamudra. Mārappa held sway over Male–rājya, the western coastal region of Konkaṇa, from his headquarters at Chandragutti. Muddappa who governed from Mulbāgal seems to have died prematurely The territory north of the Tungabhadrā also formed part of the Vijayanagara kingdom in the beginning. Harihara is to be credited not only for the foundation of the new state, but also for setting up good government and ensuring peace and security in his dominions. He had to evolve order out of the chaotic conditions and apply himself to the work of rehabiliation.

Harihara was a mighty warrior, capable military leader, organizer and conquerer par excellence. He was a man of resolution, vision, foresight, broad outlook and high ideals, adept in statecraft. A worthy successor of Hoysala Ballāla III, he completed his task so ably. But for him it is doubtful, if the freedom fighters of the fourteenth century would have succeeded to the extent they did in routing the enemy and founding a powerful state that fulfilled their aspirations within a very short time. Harihara was fortunate in having faithful brothers who identified themselves with his mission. To Harihara goes the credit of liberating south India from foreign domination. Harihara wielded authority over the country to the south of the Tungabhadrā bounded by the three seas. Two exceptions to this were the principality of the Śambuvarāyas who did not accept the supremacy of the new power and the Sultanate of Madura. These

obstacles, however, were cleared off within a decade in the succeeding reign Harihara ranks high among the great rulers of our country.

In the reign of Harihara and soon after the celebration of the festival of victory, took place an event pregnant with consequences, which set a political barrier to the northern expansion of the new kingdom This was the establishment of the Bahmani Sultanate at Gulbarga on August 3, 1347 A. D, by Ala-ud din Hasan Bahman Shah whose earlier name was Zafar Khan. Sultan Ala-udd-in reigned for eleven years until 1358 A. D. He waged aggressive wars and enlarged his kingdom. He came into conflict with Vijavanagara and this hostility between the two neighbouring states continued ceaselessly for generations.

Bukka I (1356–1377 A. D)

Bukka I succeeded his brother Harihara I in 1356 A D He had by then fully associated himself with the activities of his elder brother and rendered invaluable service in the foundation of Vijayanagara and rehabilitating the new state In fact, since 1346 A. D. he was virtually jointly participating in the governance of the kingdom in different parts Now on, as the sole sovereign Bukka exercised his authorty for a period of 20 years till 1377 A D During this period he set upon himself the task of extirpating the hostile elements, which would enable him to carry out the work of consolidating and strengthening the new state

As a first step in this direction, he had to subdue the unruly chief of the Śambuvarāya family, named Rājagambira Rājanārāyaṇa, who was ruling the kingdom Rājagambīra-rājya, comprising the areas of Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot districts. His stronghold was the fortress of Rājagambīranmalai, identified with Padaivīḍu in North Arcot district. Kampanna succeeded in capturing the fort and the rebellious chief was also taken prisoner. However, the latter was soon released and

reinstated in his original possessions as a subordinate of Vijayanagara. This conquest took place during the period of October to December 1362 A D.

Kampaṇṇa next proceeded further south against Madura which was then under Muhammadan potentates This Sultanate of Madura proved a source of endless annoyance and distress to the people of the region Muhammadans there had wrought havoc with temples and religious institutions at Chidambaram, Śrīrangam, Madura and other places Horrid reports of such atrocities impelled Kampaṇṇa to advance against Madura On the way he released the intervening territory from Muhammadan tyranny In the final encounter Kampaṇṇa defeated and killed the Sultan of Madura and brought to an end the abominable misrule of these governors in that region in about 1371 A. D

After this victory Kampaṇṇa administered the Tamil country as the viceroy of Vijayanagara He established orderly government in the conquered provinces and revived religious ceremonies in the temples and other institutions The holy idol of god Ranganātha which had been removed to Tirupati from the temple at Śrīrangam during the days of Muhammadan trouble, was brought back and reinstalled at Śrīrangam. Kampaṇṇa's conquest of Madura brought the entire peninsula to the south of the Tungabhadrā under the sway of Vijayanagara. This southern campaign of Kampaṇṇa has been graphically narrated in the *Madhurā-Vijayam*, also named *Vīrakampaṇarāyacharitam*, a historical poem in Sanskrit by the poetess Gangādēvī, the wife of that great warrior-prince. Kampaṇṇa's regime in the south is praised as the brightest episode in the annals of the region

The Doab Wars

From this reign onward commenced the historic hostilities which continued for over two hundred years. We may call them 'the two century Deccan wars' or shortly 'the Doab wars', for the reason that they were frequently waged for the possession of the Doab region between the rivers, Kṛishṇā and Tungabhadrā

The two powers that were parties to them were Vijayanagara and the Bahmani of Gulbarga The latter was replaced about a century and a half later after its disintegration by the successor states of Bijapur, Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golconda.

The Claims of Vijayanagara

It may be noted that though the kings of Vijayanagara were not the prime provokers in these animosities, they justly maintained that the disputed doab area belonged to them on the following grounds one, they were by right representatives of the people to whom the country belonged, two, at the time of the foundation of their new kingdom and subsequently, they were in occupation of the area in considerable proportions, three, the Bahmanis who stepped on the scene later, were bent upon unscrupulously expanding their territory by wholesale encroachments.

Paucity of Reliable Sources

A historian desirous of drawing a faithful account of these wars is confronted with difficulties. In the first place, the contemporary epigraphical records which would serve as authentic sources, rarely allude to them, though the conflicts raged violently and on a large scale. Secondly, contemporary or even later Muslim chronicles directly treating this subject, are few and those that meagrely cover them are imperfect and partial.

However, fortunately or unfortunately, there is only one Muslim historian who describes these encounters at length in more or less details. This is Muhammad Kasim Ferishta about whose role as a historiographer we have briefly commented earlier in our survey of the sources (Chapter I). Still, we consider it imperative to point out a few more facts here.

Ferishta not Trustworthy

Some of the shortcomings of this historiographer are noteworthy. Firstly, he describes the incidents with an air of

superiority, obviously obsessed with the notion that the alien conquerors belonged to a superior race. Secondly, his patrons, the Sultans of Bijapur were inimical to Vijayanagara for whose final downfall they were partly responsible In such an atmosphere he compiled his narrative. Thirdly, in point of time he was remote by two centuries to four decades from end to end in respect of the period of the occurrences he was recounting. It is doubtful, if any faithful records of the past events pertaining to Vijayanagara were maintained at Bijapur and such were available to him. Fourthly, his narration is usually coloured, being fanciful, exaggerated and even fantastic Some times it reads like a fairy tale The following few instances will illustrate the above remarks

Typical Instances

The causes and results of almost all the wars are described in a stereotyped manner It is presumed that the Bahmanis were the overlords and the Vijayanagara kings their vassals committed to pay the tribute annually. On the pretext of collecting these dues often withheld by the Vijayanagara kings, the Bahmanis declare war The latter always emerge victorious and the former are defeated and humbled incurring heavy losses in men and materials. The number of persons massacred on the Vijayanagara side runs to not thousands, but hundred thousands. This is the general pattern of the narration, making allowance for some departures.

Here are a few specimens of the historian's fantasy A Vijayanagara king (Bukka I) pursued by his Bahmani rival flees through the hills and jungles from place to place for six months up to Rāmēśvaram Another king (Dēvarāya I) falls in love with the daughter of a goldsmith in the Bahmani kingdom. This leads to a deadly war between the two states The Bahmani Sultan marches into the Vijayanagara territory and besieges the capital. The war ends when the Hindu king offers his daughter to the Sultan's son and the marriage is celebrated with great pomp The fact

to be noted in this connection is that the king had at this time no marriageable daughter In regard to the accuracy of the historian, Bukka I (1356-1377 A D) is invariably referred to as 'Kishen Roy' i. e Krishṇadēvarāya (1509-1529 A D.). Bukka I's son Harihara II is mentioned as Dewal Roy. Such instances can be multiplied

Confessions

A discerning reader will not fail to judge that such accounts are not history, but caricature and mockery A critical student will easily rebut the speculative and exaggerated statements with the confessions of the historiographer himself. He says. The Bahmanis maintained themselves by superior valour only, in power, wealth and extent of country the Vijayanagara Roys were greatly their superiors This is followed by the description which makes it clear that the power and influence of the Roys had spread over the whole of south India and beyond including the islands nearby If such was the real position, how can we accept the perverted portrait of the mighty and resourceful empire that he attempts to hold before us? The above assertion that the Bahmanis excelled in valour, is questionable.

Grave Injustice

Thus, it becomes plain that the narrative of Ferishta serves little purpose in the study of Vijayanagara history It is deplorable that without proper scrutiny and critical investigation, many a modern writer has assessed the role of Vijayanagara in the light of Ferishta's account. Consequently, grave historical injustice has been perpetrated against this empire Hence, we propose to reconstruct the history of the Doab Wars cautiously, exercising our critical judgement One sound principle in this regard would be to interpret the course of the wars through their actual outcome and net result, brushing aside the trappings placed by prejudiced historiographers If Vijayanagara stands proud and erect, unmolested even at the end of a sanguinary battle, how can we agree that it was conquered and beaten? If Vijayanagara continued to grow from strength to strength for

decades after decades, inspite of the incessant assaults and injuries, as alleged, how can we believe that it was crippled and put to heavy losses ? This is not to say that Vijayanagara ever remained triumphant and never met with failures and reverses. Each issue has to be judged by its merits and drawbacks.

The Bahmani aggression

While Bukka was focussing his efforts on the interior foes, he had to contemplate about keeping at bay the northern adversary beyond the frontiers. Soon after the foundation of their kingdom at Gulbarga, the Bahmanis followed the policy of expanding it by territorial conquest and annexation. In the early years, the Kṛishṇā formed their natural boundary in the south. But soon, crossing the river, they stepped into the southern region which by right belonged to Vijayanagara. How could a sovereign state like Vijayanagara tolerate the violation of its territory ?

As a measure of absolute safety and in order to keep themselves well away from the range of possible harm by the opponents, Vijayanagara rulers had built their stronghold and capital city to the south of the natural barrier of the Tungabhadrā. But this did not mean that they had relinquished their title to the region in the north and given a free hand to the northern neighbour to carry on the acts of encroachment.

Bukka's contemporary on the Bahmani throne was Ala-ud-din's successor Muhammad Shah I (1358-1375 A. D.)

Vijayanagara-Warangal Alliance

To put a stop to the enemy's aggression, therefore, Bukka diplomatically made alliance with Vināyakadēva, grandson of the Kākatīya Pratāparudra II of Warangal. Taking the initiative, Bukka demanded of Muhammad Shah to vacate the tract under Bahmani occupation. Infuriated, Shah thrice invaded the Warangal kingdom. In the first expedition the Warangal territory

was plundered and ravaged. The Shah returned after receiving indemnity. In the mean while, Bukka and Vināyakadēva sent a joint embassy to the Delhi Sultan, Feroz Shah, to secure his assistance against Muhammad Shah The Delhi kings, it may be noted, did not favour the existence of independent Bahmani kingdom in the south. But this produced no results, since the Sultan himself was engrossed in his own affiairs

Subjugation of Warangal

Encouraged by the success in his first expedition, Muhammad Shah attacked Warangal a second time He sacked the capital and murdered Vināyakadēva with inhuman crueltv The enraged Hindu population retaliated by chasing and killing most of the forces of the Shah who was also wounded in the pursuit In the third expedition, Muhammad Shah succeeded in seizing Golkonda, annexing the adjoining territory and obtaining a rich treasure and valuable throne as presents from the subjugated kingdom Vijayanagara could not prevent the course of events in the Warangal kingdom. These campaigns were conducted in the period of 1358 to 1364 A. D.

Affairs in Andhra

We have seen how the sway of Vijayanagara extended across the wide territory from the west coast to the east coast even in the initial stage. We have also noted that the southern portion of the eastern coastal tract of Andhra was being governed by Harihara I's younger brother Kampaṇṇa I from a date prior to 1346 A. D. Besides the region of the Nellore district his dominions also included portions of Cuddapah and Kolar districts. His capital town Vikramasiṁhapura or Nellore and the impregnable fort of Udayagiri were in his possession This area in course of time developed into an important stronghold and strategic border province of Vijayanagara designated as Udayagiri-rājya. After the demise of Kampaṇṇa I in about 1355 A. D. his two sons, Sāvaṇṇa and Sangama II succeeded and ruled for about a decade.

The Vijayanagara rulers did not at first contemplate to extend their power over the other parts of Andhra and the eastern coastal region The reasons for this appear to be like this In the first instance, they had to busy themselves with the onerous task of consolidating and protecting the vast areas in the west and in the south which had recently passed under their control Secondly, inspired by their example and with their support, the leaders of Andhra territory, formerly under the Kākatīyas of Warangal, had revolted against the Delhi rule and declared their independence As this was in keeping with the aims and objects of Vijayanagara, the founders of the new state, therefore, did not consider it advisable to interfere in the affairs of Andhra

But within a short time the situation changed. Lack of unity prevailed among the Andhra potentates who indulged in warlike activities against one another This was fraught with danger as it provided a welcome opportunity to the enemy to push into the field And this took place soon.

The Bahmani kings who were intent upon expanding their territory in the Doab zone met with stiff opposition from Vijayanagara. Therefore in order to gain their objective and at the same time to wreak vengence upon their adversary, they encouraged and supported some of the Andhra chiefs. Consequently, Vijayanagara was involved in a series of fights in the eastern tracts of Andhra for a long time to come As for Vijayanagara, its rulers were actuated by the triple motive of self-preservation, thwarting the machinations of the enemy and stabilising their north-eastern boundary as far as the river Kṛishṇā and beyond, as otherwise these regions would be captured by the Bahmanis, a constant source of threat and trouble.

Among the freedom-loving chiefs of Andhra, those belonging to two regions attained prominence. One was that of the Vēlamas who became active after the disruption of Warangal by occupying the region round about. The other was that of the Reḍḍis

who ruled over in and around the Doab area between the rivers of Gōdāvarī and Kṛishṇā with Rajahmundry and Koṇḍavīḍu as their strongholds Of these the Vēlamas developed a hostile attitude towards Vijayanagara in the beginning. In the epigraphs of the reign of Bukka I we meet with statements about the Vijayanagara forces fighting against the Andhras. These might be the Vēlama chiefs.

First Bahmani War

Elated with the Warangal victory, Muhammad Shah picked up a quarrel with Vijayanagara by insulting Bukka The Vijayanagara ruler in turn invaded the Bahmani dominion and seized Mudgal which belonged to Vijayanagara, but had been captured by the enemy. Mudgal and also Raichur were strongholds and places of great strategic importance. Both these figure prominently as the targets of attacks from the two sides in the Doab wars. In the Mudgal encounter there was wholesale slaughter of the Bahmani forces. Wild with resentment the Shah launched an offensive. It is claimed, on his way he vanquished the Vijayanagara forces near Mudgal and Ādavāni. He then marched as far as the capital city which was beseiged. But these claims are doubtful. Ultimately, the Shah had to retreat and a treaty was concluded.

This war appears to have lasted for about two years during 1366–67 A. D. According to Ferishta 5,00,000 Hindus were killed in this war and the country was laid waste. Even the non-combatant and innocent subjects including women and children were butchered. At the request of Bukka the Shah promised to desist from indiscriminate and wholesale slaughter of human beings in future.

Second Bahmani War

Mujahid Shah who succeeded Muhammad Shah I in 1375 A. D. also pursued the war path Preliminary to the announcement of hostilities, he communicated to Bukka that Vijayanagara

should surrender its right over the disputed Doab territory which was a source of conflict between the two states and hand over the fort of Bankāpur to the Bahmanis. Vijayanagara was growing prosperous by its import and export trade with the western countries and Bankāpur was a busy commercial town on the direct route between the coastal region and the capital city Thus, laying his hand on Bankāpur the Shah thought of striking at the nerve centre and paralysing Vijayanagara. Bukka issued a counter demand to the Shah that he should confine himself to the north of the Kṛishṇā river which from the early days constituted the southern boundary of the Bahmani state and refrain from meddling with the Doab province with its strongholds of Mudgal and Raichur, which was their heritage.

The Shah declared war and advanced with his army. He was frustrated in his plan to invade Vijayanagara and was just saved by a lucky chance from being killed in an attack. The Bahmanis retreated, but laid siege to Ādavāni. The fortress did not capitulate inspite of the enemy's concentration for nine months Thoroughly disappointed, the Shah returned to his capital In this fight Bukka was assisted by his brother Mārappa, the governor of the western province. This war took place for over a year during 1375–76 A. D. After this the two states remained peaceful for twenty one years.

Conquest of Goa

Mārappa had an able minister named Mādhava, son of Chāvuṇḍa. This minister made conquests in the Konkaṇ region and annexed the territory to the Vijayanagara empire. In about 1366 A. D he attacked the strategic port of Goa and uprooted the Muslims established there. Thus the Goa tract came under the sway of Vijayanagara and it remained under its rule for a century till Mahmud Gawan captured it in 1470 A. D.

Rehabilitation

It is admirable that in the midst of grave political challenges he had to meet, and ceaseless wars in which he was involved,

Bukka was able to pay attention to the works of reconstruction and rehabilitation. Under his direction the capital city of Vijayanagara was considerably enlarged and strengthened. Massive fortifications and magnificent public buildings were erected in course of time. The population increased and houses and market places were set up. The new kingdom now became an empire encompassing the entire southern peninsula. Excepting the disturbed areas, peace reigned and prosperity dawned. Agriculture and inland trade received impetus. Commercial contacts with foreign countries were encouraged. The kings of Ceylon and other countries and the chiefs of Malabar and the island regions kept ambassadors in the Vijayanagara court and sent annually rich presents. It is recorded in the annals of the Ming dynasty of China that Bukka I sent an embassy to that country in 1374 A D.

Administration

For purposes of administration the empire was divided into a number of provinces placed under viceroys and governors. Bukka's senior queen was Honnāyi and he had as many as eleven sons. Many of them were governors of provinces Virupaṇṇa (Virupāksha I) was governing Āraga province, or Male-rājya. Kampaṇṇa who was earlier governor of Muluvāyi province, subsequently became the viceroy of the southern Tamil country. Bhāskarabhavadūra was at Udayagiri. The eldest son, Harihara II, was probably staying with his father in the capital. Bukka was ably assisted in his conquests and administration by the general Muddappa and minister Mādarasa or Chāvuṇḍa Mādhava.

Minorities Protected

One event of Bukka's reign which has assumed national importance on account of its magnitude in the socio-religious plain was the Jaina-Rāmānuja conciliation The dispute between the Jainas and the Śrīvaishṇavas (the followers of Rāmānuja) over the rights and privileges in respect of their religious

performances assumed serious proportions at this time. The Jainas who were in a state of minority were harassed by the Śrīvaishṇavas who formed a majority. The Jainas therefore appealed to the Vijayanagara sovereign for justice In the presence of the representatives of the two communities and the general public who had assembled in his court, Bukka gave his verdict which may be styled the Jaina-Rāmānuja award. According to the terms of the award, the majority community was held responsible for safeguarding the rights, privileges and interests of the minority. In other words, it was the proclamation of a royal charter of rights granted in favour of the minorities in the state.

Instances are rare in history of such an equitable decision in religious disputes. This exemplary award stands testimony to the wisdom of the great monarch who conferred it. It proved effective as it helped to establish goodwill among the various communities, classes and sections in the empire. This catholic outlook outlined the general policy of all Vijayanagara kings who, following Bukka, transcended the narrow barriers and conferred equal rights and benefits to their subjects belonging to different religions and faiths, be they Hindus of different sects or Muslims or even Christians.

Vedic Commentaries

A more lasting achievement that has left its indelible mark on the canvas of time stands to the credit of Bukka This was the compilation of commentaries on the Vēdas, the bed-rock of Hinduism, which had become obscure on account of break in tradition. The project was launched in about 1360 A. D under the leadership of two eminent scholars, Sāyaṇāchārya and Mādhavāchārya, helped by others. On account of this signal service in the field of Sanskrit learning, Bukka fittingly earned the title *Vaidikamārgapravartaka* (promoter of the Vedic path) This immortal cultural contribution completed in due course, is still alive in the world of scholarship, alongwith the memory of the great empire that rendered it possible.

Other Sanskrit works were produced at this period. Reference has already been made to the *Madhurāvijayam* or *Vīrakamparāya-charitam* of Gangādēvī. Kannada literature also received impetus and was enriched by Vīraśaiva, Jaina and Brahmanical works. Telugu writers also were encouraged Thus, Bukka's reign inaugurated an era of national uplift and cultural regeneration in the fields of political freedom, religious catholicity, literature, learning, art and architecture.

Kriyāśakti and Vidyāraṇya

Kāśīvilāsa Kriyāśakti of the Pāśupata school was the royal preceptor and adviser of Bukka I. At the same time the king paid highest reverence to Vidyāraṇya, the venerable pontiff and spiritual guide of Śringēri Maṭha.

Estimate of Bukka I

As a freedom-flighter, nation-builder and co-founder of Vijayanagara, Bukka, next to Harihara, deserves an honoured place of distinction among the great kings of our country. He fought shoulder to shoulder with Harihara and liberated the people from the yoke of foreigners He completed the meritorious work, left incomplete by his revered elder brother, of restoring independence in the three provinces of South India, Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nad.

Soon after his accession to sovereignty he visualised with singular foresight the historic role which Vijayanagara was destined to play and in the course of the next two decades he prepared the ground for his successors to accomplish his cherished goal. With courage and determination he cleared the obstacles on the path and made it smooth for himself and inheritors to proceed in the right direction. The touch of his strong and dexterous hand converted the new moderate kingdom into a stalwart and prosperous empire.

For the first time in its history, South India with its multiple faiths, castes, communities and languages was brought almost entirely under a single rule and integrated administration. This geographical and political unification brought in its wake closer social and cultural ties. If Bukka rises high as a military organizer, political leader, skilled statesman and good administrator, he rises still higher as an architect of a great nation, a saviour of culture and promoter of cultural advancement. This is seen through his contributions in the spheres of religion, art and literature. The stature of a nation is to be measured not simply by its physical dimensions but by its cultural heights.

Harihara II (1377–1404 A. D.)

Bukka I died early in 1377 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Harihara II. As successor of worthy pioneers and inheritor of vast dominions, he had on his shoulders the great responsibility of preserving the state and leading it on the path of further progress. The events show that he successfully discharged this obligation. In a big territory like that it was not surprising if discontent gathered strength and turbulent elements raised their heads in some quarters. Besides, the threat of the northern enemy always existed. Harihara ably encountered these dangers and maintained internal peace and order during his reign.

Peace and Conquests

The Konkan area with the northern part of the Tulu country had Bārakūru as its capital. Harihara I had built a fort there after subduing the Bhairasa chiefs. Soon after Bukka's death there was a rising in this region. It was promptly put down by the crown prince Bukka II in about 1380 A. D.

Sometime thereafter, a widespread rebellion broke out in the Tamil country also when the chiefs of the Tuṇḍīra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya countries rose against Harihara II. Kampaṇṇa, the viceroy of this territory died in about November 1374 A. D. His death had removed the strong hand of Vijayanagara in that

area. This revolt was successfully quelled by prince Virūpāksha II. He then followed up his success and proceeded further south. Crossing over to the island of Ceylon, he exacted tribute from its king Bhuvanaikabāhu V. Virupāksha also brought with him rich presents to the emperor This was a prelude to the growing influence of Vijayanagara over the southern island

In about 1391 A D the ports of Chaul, Dabhol and Kharepatan were captured by the Vijayanagara forces and this proved to be of great advantage. Thereby the northern frontier of the empire was pushed as far north as the river Kṛishnā

Hold on West Coast

Subsequently, battles were waged fiercely by the Vijayanagara generals for the supremacy of the coastal tracts They were opposed by the Bahmani forces who had eventually to surrender their strongholds, one of which was Rangini Vasanta Mādhava and his son Baichappa who played a prominent role in these encounters and brought success to the arms of Vijayanagara were duly honoured by Harihara By these operations Vijayanagara could establish its firm hold on the western sea coast (1395 A.D)

Bahmani War (1398–99 A D.)

In 1397 A D , Firuz Shah came to power in the Bahmani kingdom This youthful Sultan, eager to restore the lost prestige and territory, proceeded against Vijayanagara. The Muslim historians in their usual manner speak of the victory to the Shah and humiliating defeat of Vijayanagara As according to the terms of the treaty the boundaries of the two kingdoms were to remain as before, it becomes plain that the Shah gained nothing by this war except loss of life and wealth on both sides. The Vijayanagara general Guṇḍa-daṇḍanātha distinguished himself in this war.

Capture of Pangal

Prince Dēvarāya I who was posted as the governor of Udayagiri-rājya, launched an expedition against the Vēlamas who, assisted by the Bahmani forces, were carrying on incursions against Vijayanagara After several engagements he succeeded, with the direction of Bukka II, in capturing the strategic fort of Pāngal in Mahbubnagar district, in 1398 A. D This was a substantial gain as it enabled Vijayanagara to carry on further operations in the Andhra areas

Governors

As before, the responsibility of administering the different provinces of the empire was shared by the princes of the royal family. After Kampaṇṇa's death, Virupāksha II was appointed governor of the southern provinces The *yuvarāja* Bukka II assisted his father in the affairs of the state besides governing the Mulabāgal region. Dēvarāya governed Udayagiri-rājya.

Famine

One of the most devastating famines hit the country in 1390-91 A D The most affected region was the southern province in charge of Virupāksha II It was so severe that according to an epigraph of 1391 A. D, innumerable skulls were rolling about on the ground.

Civic Amenities

Harihara showed great interest in providing amenities of life to his subjects. Rivers were harnessed, canals were dug and tanks were constructed The hydraulic engineer Singamabhaṭṭa excavated a canal from the Honne river for supplying water to Penugoṇḍa. Encouragement and impetus was given to trade and commerce. Several prosperous cities and towns like Dōrasamudra. Penugoṇḍa, Udayagiri and Bankāpura came to prominence. Minister and general Mudda who was a good

administrator largely assisted the king in these projects. He established many agrahāras for the promotion of learning.

Literary Advancement

Harihara was a cultured monarch Under his patronage the monumental work of furnishing the Vēdas with scholarly commentaries, started in the reign of his father, was completed after nearly two decades (1360-1380 A. D.) For this service he was decorated with the title *Vaidika-mārga-sthāpanāchārya* (Establisher of the Vedic Path). Sanskrit thrived in his court and Kannada language and literature were promoted. He earned the title *Karnātaka-vidya-vilāsa* (one who graced the Karnāṭaka learning) Works by Jaina and Vīraśaiva and other authors were written.

As in the previous reign the king now and then sought the guidance of the teachers, Kriyāśakti and Vidyāraṇya in the state and spiritual affairs.

Princes and Generals

Harihara II had two wives, namely, Pampādēvī and Mallādēvī Among his sons were Bukka II, Virupāksha II, Dēvarāya I and Chikkarāya. Of the generals and ministers who distinguished themselves, mention may be made of Mudda, Guṇḍa, Vasanta-Mādhava and Irugappa The last one was a Jaina by persuasion

Virūpāksha II and Bukka II (1404-1406 A. D)

Harihara II died in 1404 A. D. After his death a dispute for succession to the throne arose among his three sons, who are mentioned above in the order of seniority. Although Bukka was the eldest and rightful heir, his authority was challenged by Virupāksha who asserted himself. The latter, however, was overthrown by Bukka who ruled for a short time. The struggle seems to have continued, but we do not have a clear picture of

the happenings. May be, Bukka died prematurely and this gave an opportunity to Dēvarāya to occupy the throne.

Dēvarāya I (1406–1422 A. D.)

Soon after his accession, Dēvarāya I had to engage himself almost continuously in wars. Taking advantage of the confused condition, Firuz Shah raided Vijayanagara in 1406 A. D. At this stage Ferishta introduces a concocted love episode. His narrative states that the Shah invaded Vijayanagara to protect a goldsmith's daughter at Mudgal with whom Dēvarāya had fallen in love and whose hand he demanded in marriage. This account of Ferishta ends with the marriage of the Shah's son with the daughter of Dēvarāya who was defeated. These events are, however, not mentioned by other Muslim writers. The entire account of Ferishta is therefore a pure fabrication.

In Andhra, the Vēlamas and other chiefs, assisted by the Bahmani army made inroads in the Udayagiri province of Vijayanagara. However, they could not hold their own for long and were repulsed by Vijayanagara in course of time. Dēvarāya diplomatically planned to aid and strengthen the Reddi kingdom of Rajahmundry on the Gōdāvarī, so that it could serve as a check against the Bahmani power and stand as a barrier against the increasing pressure of the Gajapatis.

In the Krishṇā and Gōdāvarī regions rivalry loomed large between the two hostile rulers Peda Kōmati Vēma of Koṇḍavīḍu in the Krishṇā area invaded Rajahmundry kingdom of Gōdāvarī under the possession of Kātaya Vēma who was brother-in-law of Dēvarāya. The latter scored victories against the former with the help of Vijayanagara forces. Soon the Bahmani army arrived on the scene and with its help Peda Kōmaṭi defeated and killed Kāṭaya Vēma. The latter's general Allāda, however, made good for these reverses and gained success against the enemy (c 1415 A. D.)

Firuz Shah made another bid against Vijayanagara by concentrating military operations against Pāngal, which commanded the route to the Gōdāvarī delta. The siege lasted for two years (1417–19 A. D.). The besiegers were harassed by the forces of Vijayanagara and their Hindu allies and pestered by famine and pestilence Their hardship was further increased by the desertion of the Vēlamas who joined the enemy Eventually, the Sultan had to flee from the battle field The victorious Vijayanagara generals pursued the enemy into the heart of his kingdom. Shocked by these reverses, the Shah died broken hearted. Vijayanagara supremacy was thus established in the eastern Kṛishṇā and Andhra territory

Dēvarāya's intervention in the affairs of the kingdom of Rajahmundry antagonised the Gajapati king of Orissa, Bhānudēva IV. This enmity which started between the two kingdoms continued to grow in proportions and ultimately the entire east coast became the scene of many battles.

Dēvarāya's Achievements

Dēvarāya was a capable ruler conversant with political diplomacy, military organization, and state administration. Taking into account his achievements as a provincial governor during the reign of his father, the period of his successful career and worthy service extends over more than four decades. The credit of expanding for the first time the power and influence of Vijayanagara in Telangana and eastern Andhra areas as far as the Gōdāvarī delta goes to him He increased the strength of the Vijayanagara army by largely importing horses of good breed from Arabia and Persia and organizing the cavalry force. He employed skilled archers of the Turkish clan and raised the fighting capacity of his bowmen.

Constructive Activities

Dēvarāya strengthened the capital city by new fortifications and made it safer against enemy's attacks. The city was further

extended, improved and made beautiful. He constructed a huge dam in the Tungabhadrā and an aqueduct about fifteen miles long from the river to the city. It ensured constant and plentiful water supply to the capital This measure contributed to the agricultural growth, besides providing facilities for rearing gardens in and around the city. Another irrigational dam in the Haridrā river near Harihara was also constructed Dēvarāya was cultured and peace-loving He entertained learned men in his court He cherished reverence for Chandraśēkhara Bhārati, the pontiff of Śṛingēri

Dēvarāya had in Lakshmīdhara an able minister Once he saved the life of the king in a plot engineered against him Nāgappa was another of his trusted generals. Dēvarāya had three wives and four sons, viz , Vīra Vijaya, Vīra Mallappa, Harihara, III and Rāmachandra The last one was for some time the governor of Udayagiri and had gained his father's confidence He ruled for a short while after Dēvarāya and made way for his elder brother Vīra Vijaya.

Vīra Vijayarāya (1422-1424 A D)

Dēvarāya died in 1422 A. D and was succeeded by Vīra Vijayarāya, who was also known as Vijaya Buūpati and Vijaya Bukka III. He was a weak and peace-loving king and ruled for over a year. During this period he associated with his rule his grown-up and energetic son Dēvarāya II The reign of Vīra Vijaya is therefore not distinguishable At this time the Vijayanagara forces continued their fights with the Bahmanis and it was Dēvarāya, the crown-prince who took a leading part in these and other affairs of the state

Dēvarāya II (1424-1446 A. D)

This king called Immaḍi Dēvarāya is familiarv known as Prauḍha-Dēvarāya. Abhinava-vīra-Dēvarāya and Pratāpa; Dēvarāya were his other names. He bore the epithet *Gajabēnṭekāra* (he who engaged himself in elephant hunt).

As Dēvarāya was at the helm of administration even during the reign of his father some scholars have taken his rule to commence from 1422 A. D. itself. In the early part of his reign there took place in the western province of Āraga a wide-spread and distressing rebellion led by a Bēḍa chief, causing unrest among the people. But it was promptly put down.

First Bahmani War (1422–23 A. D.)

But more ruinous was the war with the Bahmani ruler which Dēvarāya had to conduct Ahmad Shah I who succeeded Firuz Shah in the latter part of 1422 A D., intent upon avenging the discomfiture and humiliation of his predecessor, invaded Vijayanagara soon after his accession Ferishta's account of this war is as usual hyperbolic. Though, it seems, both the sides suffered reverses in the initial stages, Vijayanagara ultimately came out successful as attested by the epigraphical testimony. This conclusion is tangibly supported by the transfer of the Bahmani capital from Gulbarga to Bidar, situated farther north in the hilly tract, in 1423 A. D. when the war was still in progress.

Successes of Gajapati (1424–27 A. D.)

Dēvarāya had now to turn his attention towards the north-eastern coastal tract where the growing power of the Gajapatis of Orissa, held grave threats to the supremacy of Vijayanagara. The ambitious Bhānudēva who was following the policy of territorial expansion and curbing the impact of Vijayanagara, attacked the kingdom of Rajahmundry The Vēlamas who always unscrupulously pursued the path of advantage and gain, now joined the invader. Overpowered between these two forces the Rajahmundry potentate surrendered, acknowledging the authority of the Gajapati. Proceeding further, Bhānudēva conquered the Koṇḍaviḍu kingdom and established his sway (1427 A. D.).

Victories of Dēvarāya (1428 A. D.)

Dēvarāya hurried to the rescue of his Rajahmundry ally. He launched a formidable offensive against the Gajapati and

the Vēlamas, whom he vanquished The Kondavīdu territory was re-conquered and annexed to the Vijayanagara empire. The Rajahmundry kingdom was freed from the domination of Gajapati and the Reddi ruler was restored to power A second time, in about 1436 A. D. Rajahmundry was threatened by Bhānudēva IV's successor Kapilēndra But this inroad was warded off by the Reddis of the area with the assistance of Vijayanagara.

Second Bahmani war (1435–36 A. D.)

This and the next war with the Bahmanis were confined to the Doab region and their target was the possession of Mudgal and Raichur The accounts of these wars as given by the Muslim writers and particularly Ferishta are unreliable The first war took place between 1435–36 A D and the aggressor was Sultan Ala-ud-din, the successor of Ahmad Shah The Shah is said to have invaded and captured the fort of Mudgal. But this statement is falsified by an inscription in the Mudgal fort itself. It proves that the stronghold with the adjoining territory was at that time in the possession of Vijayanagara only, whose officer Varadanna Nāyaka was governing the area. The war therefore must have ended in failure on the Bahmani side.

Third Bahmani War (1443–44 A. D.)

This war took place in 1443-44 A. D. Ferishta in this context introduces the story of military reforms of Dēvarāya II. His contention that the Vijayanagara forces were frequently defeated on account of their inferior military position and that hence Dēvarāya had to raise their efficiency by improving the cavalry and training the soldiers in archery under Muslims, is far from truth.

We have to bear in mind that the Vijayanagara monarchs had from the beginning realised the necessity of maintaining a large army and its striking capacity In keeping with the times they had tried to improve the quality of their troops by suitable measures including the recruitment of Muslim experts.

This is attested by the action of Dēvarāya I in this regard mentioned above The facts appear to be like this

In 1443 A. D , there was an attempt on the life of Dēvarāya II by a rival member of the royal household, who conspired to seize the throne by treacherous means The king, however, came out safe from this calamity. Taking advantage of this unhappy situation the Bahmani Sultan demanded payment of a huge amount by Dēvarāya under the threat of revenge. When it was rejected, the Shah invaded Vijayanagara. Brushing aside the fabricated narratives of this war by Muslim writers, we have to conclude that Vijayangara remained as powerful as ever notwithstanding the Bahmani incursion

Expedition against Ceylon

About the time when the above events were taking place, Vijayanagara forces were treading on the soil of Ceylon The relations of Vijayanagara princes with the rulers of this island were not always friendly. The former had therefore to control the activities of their southern neighbour and safeguard their farflung frontier To assert their supremacy and as a token of their superiority a nominal tribute was levied and collected from the Ceylonese rulers As seen earlier, the island submitted to the power of Vijayanagara in the reign of Harihara II. Now the present naval expedition on Ceylon conducted under the astute leadership of the general Lakkaṇṇa-daṇḍanāyaka was completely successful and the island king was made to pay the tribute. This event, it is interesting to note, finds mention in the Ceylonese songs For this achievement the victorious commander of the army was decorated with the distinguished title 'Lord of the Southern Seas' (*Dakshiṇa-samudrādhīśvara*), which was borne by the Vijayanagara kings themselves

Discomfiture of Kapilēndera (c. 1443 A. D.)

Again, about the same juncture another bid was made by Kapilēndra, the most powerful and ambitious of the Gajapatis,

to cripple the might of Vijayanagara. To make good for their former defeats the Reḍḍi chiefs of Rajahmundry had carried on aggression in the Gajapati territory. Kapilēndra with his Vēlama allies attacked the Reḍḍi kingdom. Without losing time, Dēvarāya sent a strong contingent of soldiers under Mallappa Oḍeya to help his Reḍḍi proteges. The Vijayanagara general promptly confronted Kapilēndra and successfully pushed him back into his kingdom. The Reḍḍi rule was thus once again firmly established in their territory.

Estimate of Dēvarāya II

Dēvarāya deserves to be reckoned among the great monarchs of Karnataka and of South India. In his regime the empire extended to its farthest limits, the three extremities of its triangular dimensions being Goa, Rajahmundry and Rāmēśvaram. His adversaries beyond the Tungabhadrā were vanquished more than once and the river Kṛishṇā from west to east demarcated the well-established northern boundary of the empire. He carried forward and successfully accomplished the project of expansion in eastern Andhra inaugurated by his grand-father Dēvarāya I. Besides being a consummate politician Dēvarāya II was a courageous military genius. He directed the operations of his troops simultaneously in more than one fields of battle like the Doab area, eastern Telangana and Ceylon. According to Nuniz, the kings of Quilon (Kerala), Ceylon, Pulicat (near Madras), Pegu and Tenasserim (Burma) and many other countries paid tribute to him.

Prosperity

In this reign the empire reached the pinnacle of prosperity which was contributed by factors like internal peace, teeming population, contented subjects, social goodwill, agricultural wealth, growth of inland trade and import and export facilities with other countries. It is highly creditable that this was achieved notwithstanding the wars that were being waged. The

empire was studded with thriving towns and cities and as Abdur Razzak states, it had three hundred busy ports.

Religious Tolerance

If peace and security contributed to the welfare of the people, the broad-minded policy of religious tolerance on the part of the ruler insured social harmony and solidarity. The principle of religious tolerance so ably defined and magnanimously practised by Bukka II, was meticulously followed by the Vijayanagara rulers in general But in the case of Dēvarāya II, it was carried to the extreme limit Though the Muslims were sworn enemies of this Hindu kingdom, many followers of this faith, some employed in the army and some as common subjects, had settled and lived peacefully and unmolested in this empire Dēvarāya had a mosque built in the capital city to satisfy the religious urge of the Muslim residents. With a view to assuage the religious susceptibilities of the followers of Islam who had to make obeisance before the crown, he kept a copy of the *Kuran* on his throne.

Capital City

The capital city had grown to incredible proportions and attained unique grandeur It was brimming with life and activities of multitudes of citizens of various categories and never-ending stream of visitors who were increasingly attracted by its magnificence.

Royal Court

The royal court was a rendezvous of nobles, courtiers, officers of state, scholars, artists, poets, ambassadors, envoys and distinguished visitors who gathered from different countries. Herein felicitations were held and royal honours were conferred on deserving personages.

Dēvarāya is compared with Bhōja of proverbial fame. Himself a man of art and letters, he patronised and encouraged

scholars, poets and authors in Sanskrit and other languages He celebrated munificent gifts like *Tulāpurusha*. Vīraśaiva religion and philosophy were placed on organised footing. Vīraśaiva, Jaina and Brahmanical literature flourished. Chāmarasa and Kumāravyāsa were foremost among the renowned Kannada poets. Andhra poet and scholar Śrīnātha was highly honoured by the rite of *Kanakābhishēka* (bathing with gold). He embellished the capital with architectural monuments like Hazāra Rāmasvāmi temple.

Accounts of Foreigners

The accounts of foreigners who visited the country and the capital and closely observed the panoramic spectacle with their own eyes make a thrilling yet illuminating reading.

The earliest among the European visitors, Nicolo Conti from Italy, who was in Vijayanagara in about 1420-21 A. D., states:

> The circumference of the great city of Bizenegalia is sixty miles. In it are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms The king is more powerful than all the other kings of India

The following is an adapted extract from the description of Abdur Razzak, ambassador from Persia who was in Vijayanagara from the end of April till the 5th December 1443 A. D.

> One might seek in vain throughout the whole of Hindustan to find a more absolute Rai. The city of Bidjanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world. The bazaars are extremely long and broad Roses are sold every where. These people could not live without roses. Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous the one to the other. The jewellers sell publicly in the bazaars pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds.

The Family

The two queens of Dēvarāya were Ponnaladēvī and Bhīmādēvī. The former's son was Mallikārjuna. Among the ministers and generals Lakkaṇṇa was far-famed. He was a staunch Vīraśaiva and a poet Lakkaṇṇa had in Mādanna an able brother and lieutenant Jakkaṇṇa was another general and Vīraśaiva poet. Dēvarāya expired on Tuesday, May 24, 1446 A. D.

Dark Decades (1446-85 A. D)

Our narrative now suddenly descends into the valley of misfortune and calamity. Unpleasant events take place one after another until the illustrious dynasty whose glorious achievements we depicted with interest vanishes from the scene. Two kings ruled during the period, each occupying the throne for about two decades in succession If the reign of one was dusky, that of the other was dark.

Mallikārjuna (1446-65 A. D)

Mallikārjuna succeeded Dēvarāya II. It seems, Dēvarāya II's younger brother named Pratāpadēva, also known as Vijayarāya II, advanced his claim to the throne and asserted himself for some time, but soon he had to withdraw. Mallikārjuna was also called Dēvarāya III and Prauḍhadēvarāya III.

Mallikārjuna was a weak ruler He could not hold the mighty kingdom inherited by him. This gave an opportunity to the enemies, the Bahmani and the Gajapati, to carry out their aggressive designs. In about 1450 A. D. the two armies simultaneously invaded Vijayanagara and advanced as far as the capital city. But this attack was repulsed.

Gajapati Kapilēndra, next taking the initiative himself, directed a major invasion of the eastern territories of Vijayanagara (c. 1454 A. D.). The Reḍḍi kingdom of Rajahmundry was conquered. This was followed by the subjugation of Koṇḍavīḍu

province. Vinukonda and other strongholds were then seized A few years later in about 1463 A. D. Kapilēndra's son Hammīra vigorously marched with his army into the south as far as the Kāvērī, capturing on his way Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Kānchi and other fortified towns. But shortly the invading forces had to withdraw from the conquered territory, retaining, however, the two strategic forts of Udayagiri and Kondavīdu.

The spectacular triumph of the enemy and the incessant reverses of Vijayanagara proved disastrous to the fate of the empire. Besides the loss of territory, Vijayanagara was faced with confusion, insubordination and disintegration In consequence, Mallikārjuna lost his power, prestige and position His cousin brother Virūpāksha III, son of Pratāpadēva, usurped the throne brushing aside even the claim of Mallikārjuna's son Rājaśēkhara Mallikārjuna after this catastrophe, went into and remained in exile in the south till his death in 1487 A. D.

Virūpāksha III (1465-85 A D)

This king proved to be incompetent to rule the ill-gotten kingdom Given to luxury and vice, he could not command the loyalty of his subordinates The Bahmanis who were held in check by Gajapati Kapilēndra renewed their attacks on Vijayanagara after the latter's death in 1470 A D Sultan Muhammad Shah III's energetic Prime Minister Mahmud Gawan directed the invasion of the western regions and subjugated northern Konkan and Goa. The loss of this port was a great blow to Vijayanagara, as it comprised the gateway of lucrative trade with the western nations and an important centre of traffic for imported horses which were essential for maintaining her military strength. The stronghold of Belgaum and some areas of northern Karnataka also were lost to the Bahmani. Though there were opportunities to retrieve these losses when disorders took place in the kingdoms of Gajapati and Bahmani, Virūpāksha failed to utilise them due to his incapacity.

Advent of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha

This gloomy situation, however, was saved by the timely intervention of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, a loyal officer of the state, who led the counter movement against the enemies of Vijayanagara. He started his campaigns in about 1469 A. D. and with the assistance of his able general and lieutenant Tuluva Narasa Nāyaka grew from strength to strength, conquering the lost territories and subduing the rebels, in the course of next decade and a half. By 1485 A. D. his position in the empire became supreme and unchallenged

Final step

Virūpāksha was now a nominal king without power, prestige and popular support. He was murdered by his own disgusted son who, however, instead of himself occupying the throne passed it on to his younger brother Prauḍharāya. This prince was utterly incapable to rule. At this juncture Sāḷuva Narasiṁha marched into the capital with his army and assumed power (1485 A. D.). Thus ended the rule of the Sangama dynasty.

Disintegration of Bahmani Kingdom

After the death of Muhammad Shah III in 1482 A. D the Bahmani kingdom also headed towards disintegration. The feudatory nobles who had become turbulent in the weak regime of their suzerain, rebelled one after another and became independent, setting up in course of time new kingdoms of their own. The first to declare independence was Yusuf Adil Khan in 1489 A. D. Others soon followed suit resulting in the establishment of five Sultanates in the Deccan, viz. Bijapur (Adil Shah), Bidar (Barid Shah), Ahmadnagar (Nizam Shah), Golkonda (Qutub Shah) and Berar (Imad Shah).

The Sāḷuva Dynasty

(1485–1505 A. D.)

Henceforth commences a new phase in Vijayanagara history. The rule of the Sangama dynasty ends and that of the Sāḷuvas

begins. This dynastic change, as the events show, was necessitated. The change, however, was brought about without a violent struggle, though it was effected by usurpation

Narasimha I (1485-91 A. D.)

The leader of the transformation was Narasimha who was a scion of the ancient and illustrious family of the Sāluvas. His father was Gunda whose early ancestor Mangu had participated in the southern expedition of Kampanna II in the reign of Bukka I. Narasimha had a long record of meritorious service of over three decades under Vijayanagara. We may review here his early career as a provincial governor before narrating the events of his reign.

Early Career (1452-85 A. D.)

Narasimha started his career as a Mahāmandalēśvara of Chandragiri (near Tirupati) in about 1452 A. D in the reign of Mallikārjuna Though two years earlier the invasion against Vijayanagara had been successfully repulsed, the weakness of the king and his indifference to the affairs of the state were already in evidence. The situation became ominous shortly and in the next reign perilous. Under such circumstances, Narasimha, an implicitly loyal and faithful officer of the state as he was, had to step forth and shoulder the responsibility of pulling out Vijayanagara from the distressful state He had the advantage of closely watching the events in northern Andhra and also southern Tamil province from his central fief of Chandrāgiri and acting promptly.

Victories in Andhra and Tamil Country

In about 1463 A. D. Narasimha hurled back the Gajapati forces that had seized the Tamil areas down to South Arcot district. The demise of Kapilēndra in 1470 A. D. gave him the long-awaited opportunity to free the Andhra region from the aggression of Gajapati. Campaigning in this area he captured

Udayagiri Leaving his task incomplete he had to rush to the south, where the feudatory chief Samarakōlāhala ruling over the Madura region, had defied Vijayanagara authority and captured Kānchi Frightened at the arrival of Narasimha, the rebel surrendered and Vijayanagara sway was re-established in the southern region (c 1471 A D)

Narasiṁha returned to Andhra and resumed his activities In the meanwhile the country had passed into the hands of the Bahmani Sultan The Sāluva valiantly fought against the enemies and succeeded in driving them out He captured the port of Masulipatam and the fort of Koṇḍaviḍu These conquests made him master of the province by 1480 A. D. Next year, lured by the wealth of Kānchi, the Bahmani Shah carried on a hurried raid and plundered the city On his way back at Kandukur he was attacked and defeated by Narasimha's generals who deprived him of his booty

Thus Narasiṁha succeeded in vanquishing the inveterate, aggressive and formidable foes of Vijayanagara, viz the Gajapati and Bahmani He also subjected the recalcitrant chiefs and turbulent nobles and enlisted their loyalty to the empire. In all these acts Narasiṁha was inspired more by the noble ideal of saving the empire than by personal ambition

Services to the Empire

Narasimha was supported in his endeavours by a few provincial governors In his military exploits he was ably assisted by his trusted generals, foremost among whom was his agent Īśvara Nāyaka of Tuluva family By 1482 A D. Narasimha was placed in the most powerful and pre-eminent position He was the undisputed lord of the eastern dominions of the empire from Rajahmundry to Rāmēśvaram. Even while in the position of supremacy, he did not swerve from his allegiance to the crown. His victories against the enemies and signal services to the cause of Vijayanagara made him popular in the country.

Downfall of the Sangamas

Meanwhile, in the capital Virupāksha had reduced himself to a despicable state. Dissipated, without character and competence to rule, he was disliked by his nobles, subordinates and family members Praudhadēvarāya who ascended the throne after his assassination, proved to be worse than his father. It became clear that by their prolonged incompetence the Sangamas had forfeited their right to continue. Narasimha therefore took hold of the reins of government

Saviour, Not Usurper

Narasimha stands in glaring contrast to the Kalachuri usurper Bijjala II He was the saviour of Vijayanagara, it would be a misnomer to call him usurper. Instead of wearing the crown, if he had remained aloof, the empire with its noble ideals of preserving the national life and culture, would have crumbled to atoms He rejuvenated Vijayanagara and prolonged its life to further fulfil its great mission for a period of eight decades.

As a Ruler

Narasimha ruled for six years During this short span he had to apply himself to the task of restoring the empire to its former state. This he could do by ensuring internal peace and order and keeping the external enemy at a distance. But in this he did not succeed completely. Some of the feudatories and nobles refused to acknowledge his authority and therefore he had to subdue them by force. Prominent among such were the chiefs of Ummattur. Taking advantage of the unsettled condition Gajapati Purushōttama, son of Kapilēndra, conquered the coastal Andhra territory as far as the Guntur region. He invested Udayagiri and captured it, much to the annoyance of Narasimha.

Regency of Narasa Nāyaka (1491-1503 A. D)

At the time of his death the two sons of Narasimha were too young to rule. Therefore he entrusted the kingdom to the care

of his trusted general and mister Tuluva Narasa Nāyaka, son of Īśvara Nāyaka. He was to act as regent and protector till they attained majority and then hand over the kingdom to one who was worthy to govern. This arrangement was fraught with danger as it vested all power in one person and made him absolute and dictator.

Sons of Narasiṁha I

Power currupts a man. Narasa Nāyaka took full advantage of his position. Instead of waiting he immediately raised Narasimha's elder son and *yuvarāja* Timma to the throne. But this prince was treacherously murdered by Timmarasa, a minister who cunningly attributed his act to the instigation of Narasa Nāyaka. Then Narasa placed the second son, Narasiṁha II on the throne. This king turned adverse to Narasa. Ill-feeling developed between the two and consequently the young prince was removed to Penugoṇḍa and kept in confinement. Thus clearing all obstacles in his way, Narasa ruled Vijayanagara like its sovereign.

Narasa's Services

Placed at the helm of affairs Narasa proceeded to accomplish the work left incomplete by Sāluva Narasimha I. He reduced to subjection the insubordinate chiefs in the southern and western territories. Subjugating the island fort of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa he crushed the revolt of the Ummattur chiefs. He made profit out of the mutual jealousy and hatred among the powerful nobles of the former Bahmani Sultanate and annexed the areas of Raichur and Mudgal. Gajapati Pratāparudra, successor of Purushōttama, who had advanced into the Vijayanagara territory was defeated and driven back.

Narasa Nāyaka thus restored the old boundaries of the empire. He infused fresh vigour and spirit among the leaders and raised the military strength, prestige and status of Vijayanagara, which had gone low. Thus, though his usurpation deserves condemnation

from the moral plane, it can largely be condoned if one looks to the ultimate good it did to the empire. However, it set a bad example.

End of the Sāḷuvas (1505 A. D)

Narasa Nāyaka died in 1503 A. D. His son Vīra Narasiṁha inherited his father's office and authority and governed like the sole monarch. Though Sāluva Narasiṁha II was now competent to assume power, Vīra Narasiṁha kept him away in imprisonment as before and shortly brought about his death by foul play in 1505 A D. With this came to an end the Sāluva dynasty after a brief existence of two decades. Out of its three members only one actually ruled for a short period If its advent was most welcome and desirable, its exit was tragic and deplorable.

Tuluva Dynasty

(1505-1567 A. D.)

Now a third dynasty in the series appears on the scene The Tuluvas claimed their descent in the Yādava lineage. However, little is known about their early history. The earliest known member of this family was Iśvara Nāyaka mentioned earlier Vīra Narasiṁha who was for two years, from 1503 to 1505 A D., the protector and *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagara, became the founder and first ruler of the Tuluva family after he ascended the throne by usurpation in 1505 A D.

Vīra Narasiṁha (1505-1509 A D)

Vīra Narasiṁha ruled for about five years. He had to spend a good part of this short period in dealing with the rebels who rose against him consequent upon his usurpation and other enemies. He fought with Yusuf Adil Khan who had taken Raichur and Mudgal In these hostilities he emerged successful. He subjugated Tulu-nādu and took possession of the ports in the western coastal tract.

Vīra Narasiṁha increased the strength and efficiency of the army by purchasing horses of good breed and training his troopers by military exercises. He established friendly relations with the Portuguese who had captured the horse trade from Arab and Persian merchants and were eager to set up a trade centre at Bhatkal. He attended to the welfare of the peasants and agriculturists and by abolishing the marriage tax for the first time, he earned the gratitude of the subjects

Krishṇadēvarāya (1509-29 A. D.)

After the death of Vīra Narasiṁha, his half-brother, Krishṇadēvarāya became the emperor His mother was Nāgalā A story is current that Vīra Narasiṁha, desirous of bequeathing the kingdom to his eight-year-old son, directed his minister Sāluva Timmarasa to do away with the life of his brother. Timmarasa, however, saved this prince by producing before the king not the latter's eyes, but those of a she-goat The veracity of this incident is not beyond question Krishṇadēvarāya's coronation was held on Lord Krishṇa's birth day, 8th August 1509 A. D.

Preliminary Measures

Krishṇadēvarāya had succeeded to a kingdom which had been weakened by long misrule and the internal and external situation of which was not free from danger. He had to take up several measures to consolidate the power and integrity of the empire. Though Vīra Narasiṁha had abolished marriage tax in some localities, this king abolished that tax and a few others all over the empire. Thus he gave relief to his subjects and restored in them a feeling of confidence He augmented the revenue of the empire by bringing fresh land under cultivation. Every provincial governor and chief was made to supply a fixed number of soldiers regularly, failing which heavy fines were imposed. Thus, he strengthened his military force. After taking these and several other similar measures whereby he infused fresh vigour into the country and achieved internal consolidation, Rāya proceeded against his enemies, internal and external.

Challenges

The Ummattur chiefs had remained unsubdued. Though the Bahmani kingdom had ceased to exist, the Muslim pressure on the northern frontier had not eased Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur the next-door neighbour of Vijayanagara, was trying to expand his territories The Gajapatis of Orissa continued to occupy the north-eastern districts of the kingdom. And in the west coast the Portuguese were becoming a menace.

Relations with the Portuguese

Krishnadēvarāya received a request from Albuquerque, governor of the Portuguese settlements, to help him capture Calicut from the Zamorin In return, he promised to supply horses for the king's use in his battles The king however, preserved silence The Portuguese managed to seize Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur in 1510 A D. and approached Rāya for permission to build a fort at Bhaṭkal Rāya congratulated the Portuguese on their victory over the Muslims Once again Adil Shah recaptured Goa, but soon after, Albuquerque finally succeeded in acquiring the port Raya n w permitted the Portuguese to build a fort at Bhaṭkal (1510 A D).

Goa was thus lost Though Rāya had a great desire to seize it for himself, he did not want to antagonize the Portuguese with whom he had trade relations However, after some time he sent a small force against Goa to notify his protest against the Portuguese aggressions. Horses were badly needed for the Vijayanagara army for its battles against the Muslims and therefore friendly relations with the Portuguese who had now monopolised the horse trade, had become a necessity.

Bahmani-Bijapur War

The Bahmani kingdom was now tottering. Mahmud II, successor of Muhammad III, was Sultan without sovereignty. To maintain his hold on the overbearing nobles and to rally them under his banner, he hit upon the device of frequently declaring the holy war (*jihad*) against the infidels, viz. Vijayanagara

rulers. Thus shortly after Rāya's accession he marched with a large army in the former's kingdom (1509 A. D.). In this he was joined by Yusuf Adil Khan of Bijapur. In the battle that ensued the Bahmani forces were badly beaten and Mahmud himself was severely wounded. Rāya, however, pursued them to Kōvilakoṇḍa where another vigorous battle was fought. This proved disastrous for Yusuf Adil Khan who lost his life, creating political chaos in the infant state of Bijapur.

Conquest of Ummattūr

Next, Rāya turned his attention towards the *Pāḷegārs* of Ummattur who were like a thorn in the side. The chief Gangarāya, defying imperial authority had occupied Penugoṇḍa. Rāya first proceeded against Penugoṇḍa and from there pursued the enemy to his capital. Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa and Śivanasamudra, the two headquarters of the ruler, were captured and razed to the ground The enemy lost his life and the territory was finally annexed to the empire. Rāya appointed his governor entrusting the local administration to Kempe Gowḍa (the founder of Bangalore) and two others.

With this the defensive battles of Rāya came to an end. He now planned an extensive campaign against the hereditary enemies of the empire, the Gajapatis of Orissa and the Shahi Sultans

Invasion of Orissa

Gajapati Pratāparudra had been in occupation of Udayagiri and Koṇḍavīḍu forts. Attempts by earlier rulers to reconquer them had failed. The ambitious Gajapati was bent upon expanding his kingdom at the cost of Vijayanagara Hence Rāya now free from the fear of the Muslims, declared war upon the Gajapati. Starting his operations he laid seige to Udayagiri in 1513 A D. At this time when Gajapati attacked him from behind, Rāya inflicted a severe defeat on the Oriyas and drove them as far as Koṇḍavīḍu. Then the seige of Udayagiri continued and this impregnable fort finally surrendered after eighteen months.

Thereupon the king sent his army under Sāluva Timmarasa to capture Koṇḍaviḍu, himself returning to the capital after paying a visit to the shrine at Tirupati. Many lesser fortresses on the way, like Kandukur, Vinukoṇḍa and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa fell into the hands of Timma who ultimately reached Koṇḍavīdu. By then the king also joined him. This fort was captured by escalade, and here Vīrabhadra, the son and heir of the Gajapati, and the queen were taken prisoners. This was in 1515 A. D.

Next was subjugated the coastal region upto the Kṛishṇā. While his army proceeded to capture Vijayavāḍa, Rāya again paid a hurried visit to the capital and joined his army at Vijayavaḍa. This fort too capitulated. Then came the turn of Kondapalli (1517 A. D.). Large parts of Nalgonda and Warangal districts also were speedily conquered.

The capture of Vijayavāḍa and Koṇḍapalli opened the gates to Telangana and the coastal country. Shitab Khan who was then ruling over this region offered resistance, backed by the Gajapati. But Rāya knew no defeat and his army marched victoriously to Rajahmundry which fell easily. From there it proceeded to Simhachalam subjugating the surrounding forts on the way. A pillar of victory was planted at Poṭnūr and the king returned to the capital.

His army, however, pushed onwards, reached Cuttack and laid seige to it. Pratāparudra who could not face the onslaught any more at last came to terms. He gave his daughter Jaganmōhinī in marriage to Rāya who magnanimously returned to his erstwhile enemy all the conquered territory north of the Kṛishṇā. The war against Gajapati, waged in five phases, covered six years from 1513 to 1518 A. D.

Golkoṇḍa Defeated

The defeat of Pratāparudra weakened the Orissa kingdom and Quli Qutb Shah of Golkoṇḍa invaded it and captured a number of places. Emboldened by these victories he threatened Vijaya-

nagara also. Rāya then sent an army under Sāluva Timma who defeated and drove out the Golkoṇḍa troops. Timma returned to the capital after reorganising the administration of the recovered territories on sound lines.

Battle of Raichur

After thus subduing the Gajapati, Rāya made preparations to capture Raichur which was now in the possession of the Sultan of Bijapur This fort along with Mudgal had been the cause of many a battle between Vijayanagara and the Muslim power. Earlier, Narasa Nāyaka could not fulfil his master Sāluva Narsiṁha's desire to capture these forts Hence at the earliest opportunity, in 1520 A. D., Rāya attacked Raichur. A fierce battle was fought on May 19 of that year between Rāya and Ismail Adil Shah The Shah was beaten and he fled from the field Still the fort was not surrendered by the enemy. Finally, however, with the help of a band of Portuguese musketeers in his service Rāya captured the fort.

Capture of Gulbarga

After his return to the capital Rāya received an embassy from the Adil Shah with a request to restore all that he had taken from the latter in the war. Rāya promised to do so if the Shah came and kissed his feet in obeisance It was agreed upon that the two would meet at Mudgal. But the Shah's absence at Mudgal enraged Rāya who crossed the frontier and took Bijapur. For a third time, in 1523 A D. the two armies clashed at Sāgar, when the Sultan's forces again suffered a crushing defeat. Thereafter Rāya led his army to Gulbarga and captured it Here he liberated the three young sons of late Mahmud II, kept in confinement by the nobles He made the elder the Sultan and took the other two with him to Vijayanagara where he kept them in safety and treated them well Thus reviving the Bahmani Sultanate, Rāya established his hold over the Muslim powers. To mark this achievement he assumed the significant title *Yavana-rājya-sthāpanāchārya*.

Affairs in Ceylon

With this the military activities of Rāya came to an end. Once, in the meanwhile there was a popular rising in Ceylon, where its ruler Vijayabāhu was thrown out of power Rāya had to intervene in its affairs; he put an end to the revolts and reinstated Bhuvanaikabāhu, son of Vijayabāhu on the throne.

Closing Years

Barring an unhappy incident at home, the last few years of Rāya were spent in peace During this period he visited the religious centres in the south and made profuse grants to the temples there. Rāya crowned his six-years-old son Tirumala as *yuvarāja* and introduced him to the affairs of the state But within one year the young prince died

It was reported that he was a victim of poison administered by Timma-daṇḍanāyaka, elder son of his minister Sāluva Timmarasa. Believing the report, Rāya put both the father and his son in prison. But Timma escaped to Gooty and raised the standard of rebellion. Enraged Rāya defeated and put him again into prison. After this both the father and the son were blinded. It is doubtful how far this story related by Nuniz is reliable. Some scholars disbelieve it.

The alleged defection of his ablest and most loyal minister and the death of his son were a great blow to Rāya. The broken-hearted king took seriously ill soon after and died some time in November 1529 A D. He was aged about forty-two at that time.

Family

Rāya's two favourite queens were Chinnādēvī and Tirumalā dēvī. Of his two sons, the elder Tirumala died of poisoning, and the younger was only a child of eighteen months. He had two daughters, Tirumalāmbā and Vēṅgalāmbā, who were married to

Āraviḍu Rāmarāya and his brother Tirumala respectively Rāmarāya became famous as Aliya (son-in-law) Rāmarāya.

Literature

Rāya was a great patron of literature. Himself a scholar and author he entertained scholars and poets in his palace Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannada learning were encouraged He wrote the *Jāmbavatīkalyanam*, a drama and other Sanskrit works, the *Āmuktamālyadā* in Telugu is ascribed to him His court was adorned with eight famous Telugu poets, described as the eight supporting elephants of the quarters Pre-eminent among them was Allasāni Peddanna Timmaṇṇa Kavi completed the unfinished part of Kumāra Vyāsa's Bhārata and it was dedicated o the king under the name *Karṇāṭaki Krishṇarāya-Bhārata-Kathā-manjari*

Two memorable personalities, Vyāsatirtha and his disciple Purandara dāsa belong to this age The former was a high pontiff of Madhva's monastic school and prolific writer on Dvaita philosophy. The latter whose name universally popular in the Kannada country, immensely contributed to the promotion of the Vaishṇavite Bhakti cult.

Constructions - Architecture

This reign witnessed the climax of constructive activities-religious and secular-towns, dams, canals, tanks, public buildings and temples. Rāya constructed a suburb to the capital, called Nāgalāpura in memory of his mother and another named Tirumaladeviyara-paṭṭaṇa after his second queen He built an assembly hall and tower in the Virūpāksha temple on the occasion of his coronation According to one view, Hazāra Rāma and Viṭhṭhala temples owe their existence to him. The Kṛishṇasvāmi temple was constructed after his conquest of Udayagiri and the image of Kṛishṇa brought as a trophy from the fort was installed herein. The House of Victory was erected to commemorate his victory in the Orissan war. To this period are generally attri-

buted many of the hundred and thousand-pillared *maṇḍapas* and the popularly known Rāya-gōpuras of the south.

Estimate

Krishṇadēvarāya ranks high among the great monarchs of India. In many respects he was a unique personality, versatile genius like a multifaceted bright gem. Under him Vijayanagara attained the zenith of unprecedented glory. The twenty years of his reign mark a memorable epoch in the history of South India and afford a shining example of a sovereign who set before himself the ideal of a king whose chief concern was the safety and welfare of his subjects and who unremittingly strove to promote them. Though he waged many wars, their ultimate objective was peace and happines- of the people

He was a warrior who knew no defeat, a consummate military organizer and a statesman His war against Orissa constitutes a brilliant chapter in the annals of military history. He was endowed with many virtues and qualities which contributed to his marvellous success and outstanding achievements in many fields as seen above.

The Portuguese visitor Domingo Paes who was in Vijayanagara in the time of Krishṇadēvarāya (c 1520 A. D) furnishes many interesting details about the king and the capital city in his narrative They are highly useful to understand the human and personal aspects of Rāya, apart from others.

Achyutarāya (1529-42 A. D)

Tuluva Narasa-Nāyaka, father of Krishṇadēvarāya, had three wives, viz. Tippāji, Nāgalā and Obāmbā. Vīra-Narasiṁha was born of the first and Krishṇadēva of the second Achyuta and Ranga were the sons of the third Ranga's son was Sadāśiva who figures later in our narrative

Achyuta was kept in prison by Krishṇadēvarāya to avoid palace intrigues. But before the latter's death Achyuta was released and nominated as his successor. Against a towering genius like Krishṇadēvarāya, Achyuta naturally looks too dwarfish.

He was made of ordinary stuff with some alacrity and steered the state in the midst of difficulties.

Party Struggles

Accession of Achyuta sounded a signal for contest to the throne. The contestants were three: 1 Achyuta, 2. Krishṇadēvarāya's infant son whose claim was sponsored by his maternal uncle Huchcha Tirumala and 3. Aliya Rāmarāya, son-in-law of Krishṇadēvarāya. Later, Rāmarāya supported Achyuta Tirumala succeeded for some time, but succumbed in the end

This dispute continued for about six years. In the meanwhile Adil Shah of Bijapur twice invaded Vijayanagara. The first invasion (1530-31 A. D.) fetched him the prize of Raichur and Mudgal. In the second, he advanced as far as Nagalāpura and destroyed it. Achyuta rose to the occasion and soon wrested the strongholds.

Enemies Checked

Achyuta hurled back the invasion of the Gajapati and foiled the move of Qutub Shah to capture Koṇḍavīḍu. Achyuta advanced as far as Vijayavāḍa to stop the aggressions of these enemies.

Portuguese Menace

The activities of the Protuguese in the coastal territory became menacing. They were engaged in establishing their settlements. Unscrupulously they carried on depredations and aggressions into the territories of the chiefs like the Zamorin of Calicut, plundered the rich temples and massacred the people. Achyuta tried to maintain good relations with them.

Rebellions Suppressed

Achyuta succeeded in quelling the rebellions in the Kanchi area, Kerala and Ummattūr region. The Pāṇḍyan king who was dispossessed was reinstated in his principality. After this victory he married the Pāṇḍya ruler's daughter Varadāṁbā.

Great Gifts

Achyuta was religious tempered He amassed wealth by extortion from the nobles and lavishly spent it by performing sacrifices and pompously celebrating Great Gifts like Ānandanidhi Inscriptions proclaiming his charities are found in many places.

Sadāśiva (1543-70 A. D)

Succession Dispute (1542-43 A D)

Achyuta's death was followed by a succession dispute in which two interested parties played the principal role. Immediately, young Venkata, son of Varadāmbā was crowned with the support of her brother Salaka Tirumala who became the regent. The queen mother, however, suspected the intentions of her brother who was planning to usurp the throne for himself. Aliya Rāmarāya who had made an abortive attempt to seize power in the previous regime, now stood forth as the champion of Sadāśiva A tough fight ensued between Tirumala and Rāmarāya in which the former triumphed for a while. Rāmarāya escaping from the aggression of Tirumala, released Sadāśiva from imprisonment and organized his party. In the course of this conflict help was sought more than once from the Bijapur Sultan; but it proved ineffective In the meanwhile Tirumala recklessly killed Venkata with his supporters. In a series of battles, the last of which was fought on the Tungabhadrā, Tirumala was routed and killed.

Rāmarāya's Ascendancy (1543-65 A. D.)

This success of Rāmarāya fanned his ambition to seize power for which he was aspiring since long. No doubt, he enthroned Sadāśiva as the king. But as the latter was yet a minor he himself assumed the authority and looked after the affairs of the state.

Rāmarāya's rise to power and ascendancy is marked by two stages. The first stage : For about eight years from 1543 to 1550 A. D he administered as the agent and regent of the king. By this time Sadāśiva attained majority. Then this

prince asserted his right and tried to rule independently. Disapproving this conduct, Rāmarāya put him in prison. Now comes the second stage Assuming all powers of the sovereign he ruled the empire for the next fifteen years (1551 to 1565 A. D.) as its unquestioned master, maintaining all the while the *de jure* status of Sadāśiva. Rāmarāya appointed his brothers, Tirumala and Venkaṭādri, as minister and commander of the army respectively.

Consolidation of Power

Rāmarāya strengthened his hands by removing from office many hereditary loyal servants in the civil service and appointing in their place his own men, relations and members of his family He took into military service a large number of Muslims and placed them in high and responsible offices. Both these measures were frought with danger, for they caused widespread discontent and undermined the loyalty among the ranks. In particular the latter was like nourishing the enemy in one's house.

Affairs in the South

Disloyalty and defiance against Vijayanagara rule was rampant and its authority was challenged in the southern regions. Therefore Rāmarāya sent an expedition to subdue these elements. Rāmarāya's cousins Chinna Timma and Viṭhṭhala who directed the military operations, vanquished the rebels in the Chandragiri region and Kerala and punished the leaders of fishermen of the Pearl Fishery coast, who had turned hostile under the instigation of Roman Catholic missionaries. The king of Kandy in Ceylon was subjected and made to pay tribute The conduct of the Portuguese towards Vijayanagara was some times adverse and some times favourable. Rāmarāya dealt with them suitably. In this context he attacked their settlement at San Thome and exacted heavy tribute.

Relations with Shahi Sultans

By giving them training and providing equipment Rāmarāya enormously raised the strength of Vijayanagara army which soon

became unequalled, powerful and formidable on the fields of battle. On the contrary, the forces of the rival states, viz. Bijapur, Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golkoṇḍa were of no consequence, being smaller and inferior in fighting capacity. Added to this were the constant rivalries and enmities amongst the Sultans of these states This position often compelled them to negotiate with and seek the alliance of Vijayanagara Rāmarāya also for self aggrandizement and to maintain the supremacy of Vijayanagara readily lent his helping hand to one who sought it. This policy of Rāmarāya resulted in deeply and inextricably involving himself in the affairs of the Sultans

For the first time in the life of Vijayanagara we observe a complete change in her foreign policy and relations in respect of the neighbour states on her northern frontier Until now Vijayanagara had waged offensive and defensive wars against the Bahmani kingdom But never was there any alliance with it. But now its successor states came forward to welcome and befriend Vijayanagara in order to put down their rivals who were their own fellow religionists.

Alliances and Alignments

From 1542 to 1564 A D. a series of wars took place almost continuously. The three states that played prominent roles in them were Vijayanagara, Ahmadnagar (Nizam Shah) and Bijapur (Adil Shah). The two states that played secondary roles by joining either side were Bidar (Barid Shah) and Golkoṇḍa (Qutub Shah). The causes of the conflicts that persisted were mutual jealousy and prestige, besides the ambition to possess territories and strong forts of Raichur, Mudgal, Kalyāṇa and Sholapur.

The following is a brief sketch of the wars. The wars themselves divide into two phases on the basis of party alliances and alignments. In the first phase, in between the two warring states of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, Vijayanagara sides and supports the former. In the second phase, though the two

enemy states remain the same Vijayanagara joins the opposite party, viz. Bijapur.

First Phase (1543–57 A. D.)

1. 1543 A D. · Rāmarāya helps Ahmadnagar and Golkoṇḍa against Bijapur Raichur and the Doab area were captured Bijapur is forced to cede Sholapur to Ahmadnagar

2. 1549-51 A. D Bijapur allies with Bidar, for which the latter promises to cede Kalyāṇa to Bijapur. As a counter move, Ahmadnagar and Vijayanagara join hands Ahmadnagar captures Kalyāṇa

Second Phase (1557–63 A D)

3 1557 A D · After the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah, his young son Ali goes to Vijayanagara for succour. The alliance is cemented by a treaty between Ali and Rāmarāya who having recently lost his son, adopts the former as his son Ali had realised the grave error of antagonising Vijayanagara, his neighbour state.

4 1558-59 A D · First invasion of Ahmadnagar. Ali supported by Rāmarāya demands restoration of Kalyāṇa and Sholapur by Hussain Nizam Shah. Hussain is severely defeated and his kingdom devastated.

5. 1563 A D Second invasion of Ahmadnagar. To avenge Bijapur for his discomfiture Hussain effects a strong alliance with Ibrahim Qutub Shah by marrying his daughter to the latter. The two attack Kalyāṇa. Ali backed by Rāmarāya and assisted by Ali Barid of Bidar marches against Kalyāṇa. Hussain is overpowered and the allies marching into his territory lay it waste His capital is devastated.

The Results

Thus the year 1564 A. D. witnessed the triumph and supremacy of Rāmarāya in the military and diplomatic fields. Vijaya-

nagara was at the height of her glory and power Rāmarāya not only recovered the territory lost by Vijayanagara after Krishṇadēvarāya's death, but also extended the empire beyond the Krishṇā The strong forts like Kalvāna, Kōvilkoṇḍa, Ghanapura, Pāngal, Yādgir and a few others came under his sway

The Sultans now began to brood over the situation. They realised at long last that disunity and mutual jealousy amongst themselves had actually contributed to the triumph of Rāmarāya and supremacy of Vijayanagara and that they could bring about the downfall of their inveterate enemy by unity and combined action alone

Coalition and Invasion

This realisation led to the coalition of the four Sultans against Vijayanagara Past enmities were buried and marriage alliances contracted. Hussain Shah's daughter Chand Bibi was married to Ali Adil Shah who in turn gave his sister in marriage to prince Murtaza of Ahmadnagar. The Shahs of Bidar and Golkoṇḍa were two other members of the coalition.

Collecting the largest number of troops and completing their preparations the Sultans proceeded from Bijapur on 25th December 1564 A. D. to invade Vijayanagara. The Krishṇā being the natural northern boundary of the enemy kingdom, it seems they planned to cross it and meet the enemy in his territory. On their way, they encamped at Tālikōṭa which is about twenty-five miles north of the river. Here, they spent some days, feasting and attending to the transport and supply arrangements. The strength of their combined army is liberally estimated to be three hundred thousands.

Rāmarāya Prepares

Rāmarāya, as strong as ever, resolved to counter the adversary with all might. He rallied the maximum number of forces he could command and prepared them for the fight. According to a liberal estimate the entire Vijayanagara army comprised as

many as six hundred thousand men. Though aged more than eighty, Rāmarāya decided to conduct the war himself under his leadership. He was assisted by his brothers Tirumala and Venkaṭādri.

It appears Rāmarāya adopted the strategy of opposing the enemy beyond the northern border and routing him in the tract under his occupation, never allowing him to cross the river and step into the Vijayanagara territory For this purpose he constructed a huge wall some miles long, along the southern bank of the river, vigilantly guarding the passages, particularly at the points where it was fordable With all these precautions, it seems, the enemy contingents who had widely spread out did manouver to cross the river and sally forth into the southern country. However, the principal part of the Vijayanagara army forming its core, crossed the river and marching forward a few miles into the interior, encountered its counterpart of the Sultans's forces

The Great Battle

On 23rd January 1565 A. D. the fight entered the crucial stage. It was a tumultous combat lasting for about four hours. The enemy's cavalry assault and rolling fire of the artillery wrought havoc and created confusion in the Vijayanagara camp. At this juncture two Muslim commanders of the Vijayanagara army with their battalions treacherously deserted their camp and joined the enemy side. Rāmarāya who was always spirited and never perturbed, got into his palanquin and moved swiftly amidst his troops instilling confidence and rousing their heroic spirit. But unluckily, confronted by a wild elephant the bearers left the palanquin and absconded. Rāmarāya was taken prisoner and produced before Hussain Nizam Shah who beheaded him. The severed head was fixed on a long spear and paraded on the battle ground Panic stricken, the Vijayanagara forces ran helter skelter They were chased and cut to pieces by the enemy soldiers. Vijayanagara was routed; the battle ended in disaster.

This was one of the fiercest and decisive battles in the annals of Indian history. It altered the course of historical events It struck a staggering blow to the empire which never rose again to its former position.

Intricate Questions

Different views are propounded pertaining to many aspects of this war. The earlier Muslim writers themselves are at variance in regard to the details. The originator of the idea of coalition, its actual members, the role of Ali Adil Shah, the dates of various stages of the war including its duration are subjects of speculation However, more important are the two questions Rāmarāya's responsibility and the site of the battle. We discuss them briefly

Rāmarāya's Responsibility

Rāmarāya is almost universally blamed for his foreign policy of intervening in the affairs of the Sultans. This is not correct. We have to note that he was neither a war-monger, nor did he himself instigate any dispute. Only when solicited by either of the parties he sent his troops. In certain respects he followed the dictum of Kautilya's inter-state policy. He participated in the Sultans' mutual feuds, because he knew that thereby he would serve the interests of Vijayanagara.

Nuniz' Observation

> "There is little faith among the Moors and they bite one another like dogs and like to see one another destroyed".

This is amusingly a correct description of the character of the Sultans, given by Nuniz. If the Sultans ran at the throats of one another, it was not Rāmarāya's making.

The Real Cause

Thus the real cause of the confederacy of the Sultans against Vijayanagara was not the foreign policy of Rāmarāya. It was in the first instance their fear, bitter jealousy and hatred of his

paramount position for which they themselves had contributed, secondly, their religious animosity against the Hindu empire whose existence was like poison to them

Allegations

Rāmarāya is accused by Muslim historians of insolent behaviour towards the Sultans and their ambassadors, disrespect to Islam and excesses committed by his soldiers against the Muslim population and institutions during the wars These allegations are based on distortion of facts and exaggeration The evidence is irrefutable to show that Islam and Muslims in particular received specially favoured treatment in Vijayanagara under all her rulers including Rāmaraya Muslims had largely settled in the empire and Muslim officers and soldiers were profusely employed in the army Even a mosque was built in the capital.Rāmarāya had generously adopted Ali Adil Shah as his son. The alleged excesses of the Vijayanagara soildiers in the wars and other acts of Rāmarāya have been exaggerated. Further, they are to be judged in the context of the morals and general practices of the age This is no defence but a statement of facts.

Site of the Battle

It is clear, the battle did not take place near Tālikōta. As seen above, the site was at some distance to the north of the Krishṇā. Approximately, it is said to be somewhere in between the two villages, Rakkasagi and Tangaḍagi or nearer to Tangaḍagi (Tangaḍi in parlance) In the Kannada *Ramarājana Bakhair*, the only Hindu source, though late, the place is mentioned as Rākshasa-tangaḍi. In another late Kannada work, the *Keladinṛipavijayam*, the name occurs as Rakkasa-tangaḍi which is practically the same as above. Provisionally, we may accept this and call it, the 'battle of Rakkasa-tangaḍi'. Rākshasa or Rakkasa means fierce. This is from the Vijayanagara side.

The Muslim historians, on the contrary, desirous of crediting the allies, describe the crossing of the river by their forces and the occurrence of the battle in the southern field. But their

statements are conflicting in regard to the exact location of the site. We can not rule out the possibility of some contingents of the northern enemy penetrating into the south and fighting with some battalions of Vijayanagara kept in reserve for defence purpose. But such ancillary and secondary engagements should not be mistaken for the main battle or primary war that decided the fate of the rivals

The City Destroyed

Rāmarāya's brother Tirumala who survived the catastrophe, had to think of the uture He decided to save as much he could of the capital and the empire from the revengeful wrath of the victorious enemies He hastened to the capital which was left with a few forces to guard it Its defence was out of question

The enemies were rushing to pounce upon the magnificent city which all along had been their eye sore. Tirumala collected all the treasure of the emperor, gold, jewels and the jewelled throne, which was loaded on 1550 elephants, and accompanied by the captive king Sadāśiva, ladies of the palace and kinsmen, proceeded to Chandragiri (near Tirupati).

The enemies reached the capital and stayed there for about five months, carrying on their destructive activities relentlessly. They slaughtered the population without mercy, broke down the statues and demolished the temples and palaces. Nothing seemed to escape their eyes.

> With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought on so splendid a city

The misfortune was aggravated by thieves, robbers and marauders who preyed upon it.

Soon Vijayanagara became a mass of ruins and it has remained so till today.

The Grand Epoch of Vijayanagara

Unique Empire

When we look back and look into the historical role and achievements of Vijayanagara in various fields of life and culture of our country, our first and foremost feeling is one of appreciation and admiration. Speaking on a home plane this was the culmination and apex of the unbroken series of empires, inaugurated by the mighty Chālukyas of Bādāmi in the sixth century A. D., that promoted the unification, growth and advancement of the sub-nation of Karnataka. The ideals conceived and the values set forth by the rulers of these states and Vijayanagara in particular, are hall marks of the height of civilization attained by them and the magnificence of culture bequeathed to posterity.

National State

Vijayanagara was a national state in every sense of the term. It was national in its origin, national in its aims, objects and aspirations and national in its spirit and performance. On the political plane itself, it fulfilled the urge and need of independent living and freedom from alien bondage, intensively longed for by myriads of humanity not only in Karnataka and South India, but also in the Indian sub-continent as a whole, though the north was not fortunate enough to actually receive its sumptuous gifts. The founders, it is clear, were not actuated by the narrow, self-centred motive of personal ambition or family and group domination. Thus it was an all-embracing movement, though it had to be restricted to a big slice of the country only. The movement was truly representative in character, sponsoring the cause of the entire Indian Nation of hoary traditions, Bhārata-varsha or Bhārata Rāshṭra.

Universal Outlook

Vijayanagara is usually described as the last great Hindu empire. But its Hindu character was divested of parochial or

communal stigma associated with it during the later period. True Hinduism is nothing but enlarged and expanded Vedicism of the Aryans whose vision and spirit are embodied in the religion and philosophy of the Vedic literature, the Vedic hymns, the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgītā and the Mahābhārata. The grand project of monumental, extensive commentaries on the Vedas and other works of Vedic lore completed during the reigns of the early rulers of Vijayanagara, explains the character of Hinduism professed by its founders. The Vedic mind of true Hindus transcends the narrow barriers of region, race and religion and attaches supreme importance to man as the noblest creation of Providence, believing in the universality and brotherhood of mankind. Thus the foundations of Vijayanagara were as widely laid as the boundaries of India and as deeply as the Vedic life and culture. That Vijayanagara lived up to these sublime ideals of Bhārata Rāshtra is borne out by its incessant practises and unmitigated performances.

Vijayanagara was fortunate in having secured throughout her span of life worthy personages who were destined to lead her on the path of progress to the summits of glory. They were men of high ideals and determined actions, imbued with missionary zeal and endowed with the merits of purposeful leadership. We may recall the roll of honour: the founders trio of Harihara I, Kampaṇṇa I and Bukka I, Harihara II, Dēvarāya I, Dēvarāya II, Sāluva Narasimha I, Narasa Nāyaka, Vīra Narasimha, Krishṇadēvarāya and Aliya Rāmarāya. There were some ugly shadows and ungraceful figures, but as light supersedes darkness we have to eliminate them.

Vijayanagara One

It is a heartening phenomenon to note that though struck more than once by internal forces of disruption like incompetent and selfish leadership of low morals, Vijayanagara survived over and above two centuries and a quarter, retaining her stature, vigour and vitality. As for the external forces, they were formi-

dable, hostile and destructive, ruinous at all times Vijayanagara was more than mighty to overpower them all.

In spite of political adversities, invasions and wars palace intrigues, usurpations and dynastic changes, Vijayanagara stuck to her noble ideals and steadfastly achieved her goal conscientiously and to the best of her capabilities From the beginning to the end Vijayanagara was one and indivisible, one body, one mind and one soul

Civilized State

From a study of volume of information available on the subject we reach the sound conclusion that, by any standard Vijayanagara was not only a civilized state, but also stood as a vanguard among the civilized countries of the contemporary world. A well-established government, efficient administrative institutions, internal peace and security of life, care for the weal and welfare of the subjects, facilities for their advancement, amenities of civic life, easy means of communication, agricultural growth, prosperous trade and industries, rise of towns and cities, freedom of thought and action, religious pursuits of one's choice, education and learning, these and other factors that go to constitute a civilized state, were present in Vijayanagara. This empire was plentifully resourceful and fabulously opulent

Vijayanagara had evolved diplomatic relations with some, and commercial intercourse with many countries of the west and east, like Persia, Arabia, Egypt, Italy, Portugal, Ceylon, Sumatra. Malaya, Maldive Islands, Burma and China. It had a small navy and ships which ferried in coastal waters Vijayanagara's association with Goa harbour is still preserved in a sector of the port, known as Rai Bundar.

Metropolitan City

The glowing accounts of Vijayanagara, the city, the rulers and the life of the citizens, furnished by visitors like Abdur

Razzak, Domingos Paes and Fernao Nuniz, read like the wonder tales of a fairy land But for the fact that they were disinterested foreigners who objectively recorded what they actually saw with their own eyes and experienced, we would have brushed them aside as fictitious and hyperbolic From the superlative terms employed to describe the city, its splendour, planned development, widely extensive dimensions, enormous population, luxuries of life, incalculable riches vast commercial transactions and military strength, we are tempted to concede that it was the greatest city on the earth, well-provided and thickly populated. It reminds us of cities like Hastināpura and Pāṭalīputra of Ancient India and Rome and Constantinople of European renown.

Advance in Engineering

In the science of engineering Vijayanagara had made spectacular advance and it could enlist the services of a team of engineers well versed in its branches like civil, mechanical and hydraulic. These engineering experts contributed to the multiple developmental projects like erection of cities, towns and forts, construction of state and private buildings, religious and secular edifices like temples and palaces, harnessing of rivers, digging of canals and tanks for irrigation and other needs. Some of their works like the Tungabhadrā dam and anicuts which endured through several centuries till recent times, have elicited unstinted tribute for their superb skill and craftsmanship from the scientists of the present day.

Democratic Practices

An offspring of a civilized state is democracy. Justice, freedom and equality are the necessary attributes of a civilized state as of democracy. These virtues were largely practised by Vijayanagara. However, some of the democratic practices followed by the rulers of Vijayanagara are worth emulating even in this avowedly democratic age of the twentieth century. We cite two instances.

Treatment of the Minorities

We have seen how the minorities in the Vijayanagara state like the Jainas and Muslims were assured of safety and freedom on par with the majority communities nay, they received even specially favoured treatment. Here is the testimony of the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa (c. 1514 A. D.).

> The king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen.

Barbosa's description is a broad commentary on the award conferred upon the minority community of the Jainas by the Vijayanagara king Bukka I in 1368 A. D. It affords a better solution to the question than Thomas Jefferson's Bill of religious freedom incorporated in the constitution of the United States of America four centuries later in 1790 A. D. As in the case of the award, the bill does not hold the majority community responsible for the violation of the rights and privileges of the minority communities

Treatment of Foreigners

Persons belonging to different races and nations came to Vijayanagara in large numbers. Such foreigners were welcomed and treated with respect The king himself honoured and took special care of them. They enjoyed full freedom; they could live and move about as they liked.

One wonders if such unqualified democratic freedom is permissible in the democratic nations of the world today.

Cultural Eminence

Lofty culture is the high water mark of a civilized state. We briefly consider here three cultural aspects of Vijayanagara, viz. religion and philosophy, learning and literature and art and architecture.

Religion and Philosophy

Vijayanagara preserved, fostered and promoted the noble ideals, traditions and practices of Hindu religion and philosophy whose true character is pointed out above. But for Vijayanagara Hinduism would have been reduced to a shadow and mockery. Hinduism of Vijayanagara was high-lighted by catholicity which rose above petty casteism and communalism and blind orthodoxy and bigotry.

Vijayanagara broadly sympathised with all religious faiths, doctrines and dogmas She extended her patronage to the philosophical schools and religious institutions associated with Śankara, Basava, Rāmānuja and Madhva The cult of devotion or Bhakti assumed universal propotions and played a predominant role in religious practices and spiritual aspirations

Learning and Literature

Vijayanagara liberally encouraged all languages and literatures in the empire Literatures registered tremendous advance in content, volume and variety No doubt, Sanskrit received special treatment at private and state levels. Besides Sanskrit, works of merit were produced in all the three South Indian languages, Kannada, Telugu and Tamil. If Kannada all along enjoyed its legitimate privileged position, Telugu attained prominence in the time of Kṛishṇadēvarāya and later. On account of his patronage to Telugu, Kṛishṇadēvarāya was styled Āndhra Bhōja and this period is considered as the Augustan Age of that literature. It was a matter of pride to own proficiency in more than one literature and mutual understanding and respect among the scholars of different regions was a normal phenomenon of the period

Art and Architecture

Music and dance which attracted the aristocracy and the commoners alike, were assiduously cultivated. Painting and

sculpture also received due attention. Most conspicuous and widely prevalent was architecture. As at any time, art was primarily applied for religious purpose and the Hindu temple was the total form of Indian Art. Secular architecture in respect of constructions like palaces and state buildings was given a lesser importance.

Architectural monuments manifested throughout the length and breadth of the country in the shape of temples and shrines of unusual proportions. Vijayanagara architecture was a blend of Chālukya, Hoysala and Dravidian elements, projected on its own plan and ideology of dimensions in length, breadth and height.

In general, simplicity and modesty of ornamentation was made good by profusion of spacious apartments and supplementary edifices, surmounted by tapering towers or *gōpuras* rising up above to enormous elevation. The Vijayanagara monuments inaugurated a new era in architectural creation reflecting the life and spirit of the age. Says Percy Brown

> Now a change came over the spirit as well as the substance of architecture in South India when the country became enriched with the buildings in a style showing that the people had been aroused to a life of greater fullness which moved them to express with marked freedom and fluency their aesthetic aspirations The architecture at this stage of its development reached the extreme limit of florid magnificence. It is a record in stone of a range of ideals, sensations, emotions, prodigalities, abnormalities, of forms and formlessness, and even eccentricities, that only a super-imaginative mind could conceive and only an inspired artist could reproduce.

If the Hindu temples were at all times a forum for religiosu, spiritual, educational and social activities, they were more so under Vijayanagara, as required by the exigencies of the period.

Mahānavamī Festival

This was the national fair and festival of Vijayanagara, observed in the opening fortnight of the month of Āśvina. It was celebrated on a universal scale with great ceremony, pomp, splendour, enthusiasm and entertainment. It attracted spectators from far and near and foreign visitors who were overpowered by its brilliance and magnificence. It carried with it political, administrative, religious and social significance and popular appeal all around

Personality of Vijayanagara

Among all the states of ancient and medieval India Vijayanagara is conspicuous by its characteristic personality. In extent it was as large as three big states of modern India, but much more resourceful and prosperous It stands comparison with great empires of India and its monarchs like Kṛishṇadēvarāya positively rise to the heights of great rulers of India. Though a champion of Hindu religion, it was not a theocratic state. To describe it as a military state is an exhibition of ignorance It flourished in a feudal age, but its alleged feudal structure was unlike the feudalism of medieval Europe or that of the later Rajaput states.

Political Successors

Diminished in strength and magnitude after the disaster of Rakkasa–tangaḍi, Vijayanagara continued its precarious existence for a few decades more In the mean time, its feudatories and provincial chiefs rose to prominence in different parts of the empire and founded their kingdoms. They, however, followed in certain respects in the footsteps of Vijayanagara in the political and cultural pathways. The immediate inheritors of Vijayanagara traditions were the rulers of the Āravīḍu family. Keḷadi and Mysore chiefs followed suit. Further, the Nāyakas of Madura, Jinji and Tanjore carried them in the Tamil country.

Later and in the northern region, Śivāji, the freedom fighter, who founded the national Maratha state in the seventeenth century was inspired by the ideals and example of Vijayanagara.

Glorious Ruins

The Hampi ruins are an epitome of Vijayanagara. Even in their devastated state they reflect glimpses of the empire in certain aspects like its extent, civilization, military organization, prosperity, religious faiths, economic conditions, social life and creative art These dumb relics proclaim in an inaudible, yet ringing voice the grandeur that was Vijayanagara.

As in respect of Rome, one may exclaim .

> Even her ruin is glorious
> with renown, and swollen
> with glory, made even
> more honourable and memorable

Vijayanagara Lives

The political empire of Vijayanagara was wiped out of existence Still its cultural supremacy continued in a perpetuated state. This was in the form of indelible impress of her ideals, ideologies and values of life. The Vijayanagara impact was felt, experienced and expressed through the life and practices of the succeeding generations who, proud of their priceless heritage, were eager to preserve it with gratitude If one moves about in the interior of South India, one will not fail to detect the character of its cultural traditions. This is the undying legacy of Vijayanagara, which has lived and will live on.

The foregoing brief account marks out in a nutshell the image of Vijayanagara and the salient features of her contributions in the world of civilization and culture.

APPENDICES

I

Bahmani Kingdom

(1347-1527 A. D.)

Foundation

The eccentric tyrannical rule of Muhammad Tughlak led to rebellions in his empire, resulting in the foundation of independent kingdoms. One such was the Bahmani kingdom in the south. Amir Hasan revolted against the Delhi Sultan at Daulatabad and became the founder of the Bahmani kingdom at Gulbarga in 1347 A. D. This town existed from an early period under its indigenous Kannada name Kalambarage.

Amir Hasan assumed the dignified royal title Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahman Shah. According to Ferishta, Hasan was originally a servant of the Brāhmaṇa astrologer Gangu who predicted his future greatness. Thus the name Bahman is derived from Brāhmaṇa. But this story is discredited by other Muslim historians who suggest its connection with Bahman Shah, a semi-legendary king of Persia. This is how the name Bahmani of the dynasty is explained in two ways.

Importance

For over two centuries the Bahmanis played an important part as the masters of an extensive territory in the political history and life of the people of the Deccan and north Karnataka. After the disintegration of this kingdom its traditions were continued by its successor states, the Adil Shahs of Bijapur and Barid Shahs of Bidar in Karnataka till the seventeenth century.

Ala-ud-din I (1347-58 A. D.)

Ala-ud-din was energetic and ambitious and he expanded his kingdom by conquests. It extended up to the western sea

including the ports of Goa and Dabhol. Bhongir marked its eastern point, while it was bounded in the north and the south by the rivers Paingangā and Kṛishṇā respectively. For the purpose of administration the kingdom was divided into four provinces, called *tarafs*, each under a governor. They were Gulbarga, Daulatabad, Bidar and Berar The capital town Gulbarga was enlarged by new constructions like fortifications, palace and state buildings It was soon turned into a beautiful city.

The Shah was ably assisted by his Chief Minister Saifuddin Ghori who served the kingdom for five Sultans more in succession

Muhammad Shah I to Firuz Shah

Ala-ud-din's successor was his eldest son Muhammad Shah I (1358-75 A. D.). He was a diligent administrator. From this reign onward the Bahmanis waged incessant wars, generally unprofitable, with the Vijayanagara rulers and Telangana chiefs. They have been dealt with in our account of Vijayanagara. Guns were used in these wars by both sides and the gunners were imported from Europe and Turkey. The great mosque of Gulbarga, Jami Masjid, was completed in 1367 A. D. It is a massive structure imposing by its proportions and refined execution.

Muhammad's son Mujahid ruled barely for three years (1375-78 A. D.) He was murdered by his uncle Daud Khan who also soon met his end Next, Muhammad II, grandson of Ala-ud-din I, ascended the throne. He was pious and peace loving (1378-97 A. D.).

The next ruler Firuz Shah (1397-1422 A. D.), the former's cousin, had to secure the throne by removing a usurper Turkish slave. This Shah failed in his diplomacy and military adventures In 1401 A. D. he sent a mission to Timur who

conferred on him the authority over Deccan, Gujarat and Malwa. His war with Vijayanagara ended in disaster.

Ahmad to Nizam

Ahmad (1422-36 A. D.) was the younger brother and successor of Firuz. Energetic and warlike, he resolved to retrieve the reverses of the last reign. He invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom plundering, demolishing and massacring the population. This, however, brought him no substantial gain. He succeeded in his war against Warangal which was subjugated and annexed (1424 A. D.). He attacked Malwa and Gujarat and after much fighting, was able to retain the Berar province in his kingdom (c. 1431 A D.).

In this reign the capital was transferred to Bidar from Gulbarga. Different dates are given for this event.

In spite of his indulgence in wars, Ahmad was religious-minded and pious. In 1423-24 A. D., when famine stalked the country, he prayed the heavens and his prayers were answered by rainfall. Hence he was called Wali or Saint.

The rivalry and feuds between the Deccanis and the Foreigners assumed serious proportions. The former were indigenous Sunni Muslims who had been the subjects of the state from an early period. The latter were fresh immigrants from Arabia, Persia and Central Asia, mostly of Shia sect, holding high offices in civil and military departments.

The next Shah was Ala-ud-din II (1436-58 A. D.) A war took place against Vijayanagara and rebellions broke out in South Konkan and Telangana. The king was a pious Muslim and a just ruler.

His successor Humayun had a short reign of three years (1458-61 A. D.). But during this period he practised so many cruelties and perpetrated atrocities on his own people and the subjects that he earned the notoriety as a Tyrant.

Humayun's son Nizam who inherited the state, being a boy of eight years, the administration was carried on by the council of regency comprising the queen mother, Khwaja Jahan and the chief noble Mahmud Gawan (1461-63 A D.). The king of Orissa and the ruler of Malwa invaded the kingdom without results.

Muhammad III (1463-82 A. D.)

Prince Muhammad succeeded his brother Nizam. But as he was only nine years old, the council of regency continued. Soon, Khwaja Jahan's attempts to seize power led to his execution The queen mother retired from public affairs when her son attained the age of fifteen. Thus Mahmud Gawan became the sole adviser of the king and arbiter of the destiny of the Sultanate for a decade and a half He held the high post of Amir-ul-Umra or Chief Minister.

Mahmud Gawan

Gawan belonged to a noble family in Persia. He came to Bidar in 1447 A. D. and entered the service of Ala-ud-din II. By his sterling ability and wisdom he rose to prominence in the affairs of the state He was competent to handle all departments of the government and administration, such as military, finance, revenue, judiciary and public education. He trained the king in state craft.

Gawan's tactfulness warded off the incursions of the enemies in the previous reign He carried on military operations in the west coast and captured Goa from Vijayanagara in 1472 A. D. The Bahmani sway extended in the eastern Deccan also. Muhammad himself assisted by Gawan led some of the campaigns. The Shah was spirited and took pride in calling himself Lashkari i. e 'martial'. His dash against Kānchi has been mentioned earlier

Gawan's Reforms

No department of state failed to engage Gawan's attention and he carried out reforms in finance, justice and education. The

number of provinces was doubled and the powers of the governors were curtailed Thus the control of the central government was made more effective. Gawan introduced a new land revenue system of proper survey, assessment and cash payment. He reorganized the army and the soldiers were paid decently. He stopped corruption and strove to ameliorate the lot of the common man

Gawan's College

Gawan was himself a scholar, conversant with many branches of knowledge He established contacts with scholars outside and with their help founded a college of higher learning at Bidar, called *Madrasa*, in 1472 A. D Fond of learning, he also taught in the college along with eminent scientists. The three storeyed college building accomodated professors and 108 students. Gawan's library owned 1000 manuscripts and the college library had 3000 of them

Tragic End

Gawan's reforming zeal and ascendancy roused the jealousy of the Deccani nobles. They treacherously forged a letter betraying his conspiracy against the state. It was passed into the hand of the king who, mad with rage, instantly had him executed in 1481 A D when he was seventy-three. The Sultan who soon discovered the foul plot, died struck with grief and remorse next year.

The great minister was a lone figure of high integrity and dedicated public servant of lofty, incorruptible character. His death hastened the disruption of the kingdom

End of the Sultanate

Mahmud II, son of Muhammad III, succeeded as king (1482-1518 A. D.) with the help of the Deccanis. He was weak and incompetent to curb the ascendancy and mutual rivlary of the powerful nobles seeking to establish their independent kingdoms.

Among them, Yusuf Adil Khan was forced to leave for Bijapur and Kasim Barid wielded power as the real ruler. Mahmud died in 1518 A. D. and thereafter his four sons continued as shadow kings till 1527 A. D. when the dynasty ended.

A Retrospect

The Bahmani rule served its purpose. Conscious of their superiority, the Shahs ruled over the conquered people and their territory without much rancour. Most of the officers and state employees belonged to the creed of the rulers and many of them were foreigners. Islamic faith, culture and institutions received most favoured treatment. On the contrary, religion, culture and popular institutions of the Hindu subjects were at disadvantage. As for Kannada language and literature, it was a long period of depression and stunted growth, submerged under alien domination. It may be noted that formerly, this was one of the richest areas of Karnataka where Kannada language, literature and culture flourished. However, this regime can be viewed as a transitional period which led to mutual understanding and fusion of the two civilizations and cultures.

II

Adil Shahi Kingdom

(1490–1686 A. D.)

Foundation

This kingdom was founded at Bijapur in 1490 A. D. when the Bahmani rule was being disintegrated. Its founder was Yusuf Adil Khan after whom the dynasty was named Adil Shahi and its rulers Adil Shahs.

Yusuf (1490–1510 A. D.) carved out his kingdom which broadly stretched from Raichur to Sholapur. He and his successors were frequently engaged in the feuds with the other Bahmani states. He was a remarkable ruler free from religious bigotry.

He treated his Hindu subjects with consideration He was a patron of men of letters.

Ismail to Ali

His successor Ismail (1510-35 A. D.) was a boy of thirteen when he came to the throne. The Shah of Persia conferred upon him the title of King. He was defeated by Krishnadēvarāya in the battle of Raichur He was interested in fine arts and patronised learned men.

The next ruler Ibrahim I (1535-58 A. D.) was involved in wars with Ahmadnagar, Vijayanagara and other powers. In his time Kannada and Marathi were employed for official purposes.

The next ruler was Ali (1558-80 A. D.). He allied with Vijayanagara and twice invaded Ahmadnagar. He joined the confederacy of the Muslim states against Vijayanagara in the great battle of Rakkasa-tangadi. After the defeat of Vijayanagara he expanded his kingdom in the south.

Ibrahim II to Muhammad

The next successor was Ibrahim II (1580-1627 A. D.), a boy of nine. Hence the dowager queen Chand Bibi was in charge of the administration for some time. Hostilities between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar continued The Shah was a good administrator and pursued enlightened policy in religious matters. Ibrahim Rauza, a monument of decorative magnificence owes its creation to this king.

Muhammad (1627-56 A. D.) the next ruler extended the kingdom by conquests; but he had to face the invasion of the Mughal emperor with whom he concluded a treaty. The Shah is credited with the construction of the great Gol Gumbaz with its astounding dome and whispering gallery, the second largest monument in the world.

The End

Ali II (1656-72 A. D.) and his son Sikandar (1672-86 A. D.) ruled in succession thereafter. During this period the kingdom

headed towards decadence owing to the factors like inefficient rule, civil strife, rise of the Maratha power and Mughal invasions. Sikandar being a boy of four when he came to power, the Wazirs usurped power. Aurangzeb invaded and subjugated the kingdom in 1686 A. D.

A Review

Bijapur (Vijayapura) was a famous town of Karnataka from an early period. The Sultans added to its glory by their zealous patronage. In this benevolent regime it developed into a large and splendid city with numerous picturesque Islamic monuments. The rulers took interest in the welfare of the subjects. Tolerance was shown to the religious faiths of the subjects and regional language and literature were encouraged. Many employees of the state being Marathas, Marathi language secured an advantageous position. Hindu and Muslim cultures came closer.

III

Barid Shahi Kingdom

(1487-1619 A. D.)

Foundation

Amir Kasim Barid (1487-1504 A. D.) founder of this principality, wielded considerable power in the reign of the Bahmani ruler Mahmud II and later. He clashed with Yusuf Adil Khan whose power he attempted to curb. This enmity continued Bidar, situated on an elevated plane with excellent weather, remained the capital of this kingdom.

Rulers

Kasim's son Amir Ali Barid was a weak prince (1504-42). He formally declared his independence in 1527 A. D. His son Ali Barid Shah I (1542-79 A. D.) participated in the battles between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur and joined the confederacy against Vijayanagara. Ali Barid was followed by five kings and

during this period the state was losing its strength and importance. Both Ahmadnagar and Bijapur were aiming at its capture and finally it was annexed to the latter.

A Glance

The position of Kannada language and people in this border land of Karnataka was no better during this rule than in the Bahmani regime. Among its monuments the tombs of the Barid Shahs outside the capital town are artistic and impressive.

Vijayanagara Rulers

I

Sangama Dynasty

Vīra Vijaya
(Vijaya Bhūpati or
Vijaya Bukka III)
(1422-1424 A D.)
Dēvarāva II
(Praudha Dēvarāya,
Abhinava Lēvarāya
or Pratāpa Dēvarāya)
(1424-1446 A. D.)
Mallikārjuna
(Dēvarāya III or
Praudhadēvarāya III)
(1446-1465 A. D.)
Rājaśēkhara
Pratāpadēva
(Vijayarāya II)
Virūpāksha III
(1465-1485 A. D.)
Praudhadēvarāya

II

Saluva Dynasty

III

Tuluva Dynasty

Bahmani Dynasty
Ala-ud-din I Bahman Shah
(1347-1358 A. D.)
Muhammad I
(1358-1375 A. D)
Mahmud I
Ahmad I
Mujahid
(1375-1378 A D)
Daud
Muhammad II
(1378-1397 A. D)
Firuz
(1397-1422 A. D)
Ahmad II
(1422-1436 A. D.)
Ala-ud-din II
(1436-1458 A. D.)
Humayun
(1458-1461 A. D.)
Nizam Shah
(1461-1463 A. D.)
Muhammad III
(1463-1482 A. D.)
Mahmud II
(1482-1518 A. D.)
Ahmad III
(1518-1521 A. D.)
Ala-ud-din III
(1521 A. D.)
Wali-ullah
(1521-1524 A D)
Kalimullah
(1524-1527 A. D.)

Adil Shahs of Bijapur

Yusuf Adil
(1490-1510 A. D)

Ismail Adil
(1510-1534 A. D.)

- Mallu Adil (1534-1535 A. D)
- Ibrahim Adil I (1535-1558 A. D.)
  - Ali Adil I (1558-1580 A D)
    - (brother's son) Ibrahim Adil II (1580-1627 A. D.)
      - (brother's son) Muhammad Adil (1627-1656 A. D.)
        - Ali Adil II (1656-1672 A. D.)
          - Sikandar (1672-1686 A. D.)

CHAPTER X

DECLINE AND DISINTEGRATION

(1565 1800 A. D.)

Decadent Vijayanagara

The disaster of the battle of Rakkasa-Tangaḍi was irretrievable. Vijayanagara never recovered completely from the blow. The northern parts of Karnataka had long ago gone under Muslim rule and the empire of Vijayanagara had been confined to its southern parts only. The whole of south India, however, had been brought under the rule of the Rāyas But now, the process of disintegration was hastened, though the empire lingered on with its capital at Penugoṇḍa, shorn of its wealth, power and glory The feudatories of the empire started the work of becoming independent, and threw off their allegiance one by one.

But the political traditions of Vijayanagara were continued for some time by the rulers of the Āravīḍu dynasty. So long as this dynasty ruled, at least in name, the vassals acknowledged its suzerainty Vijayanagara still gripped the imagination of the rulers and the people, who could not reconcile that it had vanished. Vijayanagara was their cherished State of Victory. So was their City of Victory Even when these later princes were ruling from Penugoṇḍa, their capital was mentioned in some official records as Vidyānagara, Vijayanagara and Hampe-Hastināvatī.

Aravidu Kings

(1570-1646 A. D.)

Origin

Now commences the truncated rule of the members of the Āravīḍu family. This is called the fourth and the last dynasty

of Vijayanagara. Its early ancestors hailed from Āravīḍu, a village in Kurnool district. Its later members had a distinguished career and their history begins in the fourteenth century. The family came to prominence under the Sāluvas. Kṛishṇadēvarāya had married his daughter to Rāmarāya, son of Śrīranga I. impressed by his ability.

Tirumala (1570-78 A. D.)

Tirumala became the *de facto* ruler of what remained of the empire. Sadāśiva was kept in confinement at Chandragiri. Tirumala dreamed of reviving the glory of the empire and to return to Vijayanagara. Very soon, he realised that the people who had left Vijayanagara would not return, as there was always the fear of an attack from the Muslims. So in 1567 A. D. he transferred his capital permanently to Penugoṇḍa. Vijayanagara was finally abandoned to present to the visitor a scene of desolation and ruin

While the northern provinces were seized by the Sultans, the southern territory was retained by Tirumala, who introduced some order into the administration. He was helped in this work by his brother Venkaṭādri. The titular emperor Sadāśiva was got rid of in 1570 A. D. and Tirumala proclaimed himself emperor.

Tirumala divided the empire into three provinces and appointed his sons as their viceroys. The viceroyalties were formed more or less on a linguistic basis. Śrīranga, the eldest son, held charge of the Āndhra areas. The predominantly Kannada regions were placed under the second son, Rāmarāya who governed from Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. The third son, Venkaṭapati administered the Tamil country from Chandragiri. This division, however, was not a wise step. Tirumala had to face the internal discontent and inroads of the external enemies.

Śrīranga II (1578-86 A. D.)

Soon after Śrīranga's accession the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkoṇḍa began to ravage the northern parts. As a result, some

of northern areas like Ādavāni were lost. Internecine disputes among the local chiefs began to undermine the stability of the empire.

Venkaṭapati I (1586–1614 A. D)

The next ruler was Venkaṭapati, the youngest brother of Śrīranga II. Soon after his accession he commenced hostilities against Golkoṇḍa. A large Muslim army marched against Penugoṇḍa and laid seige to it But the enemy was repulsed with heavy loss with the help of the chiefs Jagadēva and Raghunātha of Tanjore Elsewhere also, the Golkoṇḍa forces suffered defeat at the hands of this ruler Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur also advanced with a large force and laid seige to Penugoṇḍa in 1592 A. D, but he was forced to raise the seige and retreat with heavy loss.

Mughal Threat

At this juncture these Muslim states were themselves menaced by the advance of Mughal power under emperor Akbar, who began his southern campaign in 1593 A. D. and captured Ahmadnagar in 1600 A D Akbar himself sought diplomatic relations with Vijavanagara and twice sent embassies to the court of Venkaṭapati, once in 1600 A D. and again about four years later. The latter understood the motive behind the Mughal emperor's overtures. Obviously, it was to conquer the Vijayanagara territory and Goa after annexing the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan. Wisely, this king refused to have any dealings with Delhi.

Rāja Woḍeyar

The chiefs of Jinji, Vellore, Madura and Tanjore tried to throw off their allegiance, but they were all brought under subjection. The viceroy at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa was Rāmarāya's son Tirumala. Relations between the uncle and the nephew were not cordial; and Rāja Woḍeyar of Mysore was trying to extend

his power. In 1610 A. D Rāja Woḍeyar captured Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. This aggression against his viceroy was not only condoned by the emperor, but the aggressor was rewarded with the grant of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa and Ummattūr territories

Great King

Venkaṭapati was the greatest of the Āravīḍu kings He vanquished the enemies and extended the boundaries of the empire. Literature and the fine arts received encouragement at his court. He tried his best to revive the strength and glory of the empire and in this succeeded to some extent. This revival, however, was the last flickering glow of a flame before extinction Soon after his death the country suffered as a result of the civil war.

Civil War (1614-17 A. D.)

Venkaṭapati had no son Hence he passed on the kingdom to his brother Rāmarāya's second son Śrīranga III. This prince, however, was unworthy to rule Exploiting this situation, Jagarāya, brother-in-law of Venkaṭapati, seized the throne in favour of Chikkarāya, pretended son of the late king by queen Bāyamma, proclaiming him king. Śrīranga and his family were kept in prison. The cause of this deprived prince was then taken up by Vēlugōṭi Ēchama Nāyaka, firm and faithful supporter of the royal house Frustrated Jagarāya put to sword Śrīranga and his entire family, except Rāmadēva, a boy of twelve years, who escaped. Both the parties rallied their forces, Ēchama, backed by the Nāyaka of Tanjore and other loyal chiefs and Jagarāya by the Nāyakas of Madura, Jinji and others. A fierce battle was fought at Tōpūr on the bank of the Kāvērī. In this Jagarāya lost his life and the royalists emerged victorious.

Rāmadēva (1617-32 A. D.)

Young Rāmadēva thus securing the kingdom, ruled with the help of Ēchama who acted as regent till he came of age. Later, he appointed Venkaṭapati II, grandson of Aḷiya Rāmarāya as *yuvarāja*. Though peace was established, still the feudatories

were becoming more and more rebellious. The civil war had greatly weakened the central power. To add to the misery of the people, a great famine (1630 A. D) visited the country causing untold hardships.

The Last Rulers

Neither Rāmadēva nor his successor Venkaṭapati II (1632-42 A. D.) could check the decay into which the kingdom had fallen With the incessant conquests and annexation of large slices of the northern parts of the kingdom by the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkoṇḍa and with the assertion of independence of the feudatory chiefs in the south and in other parts, the empire of Vijayanagara was fast fading away. It virtually came to an end when Śrīranga the last ruler ran away first to Bidnūr and thereafter to Mysore, in 1646 A. D. after his defeat at the hands of the forces of Bijapur and Golkoṇḍa.

Śrīranga lived for more than three decades afterwards. With the help of a few loyal feudatories here and there he made sporadic attempts to regain his lost kingdom. Though he gained momentary success sometimes, ultimately he failed and expired in 1681 A. D.

Thus finally came to an end the remnant of the kingdom of Vijayanagara and the rule of the Āravīḍu kings who endeavoured to maintain its traditions against overwhelming odds.

During the period of decline and disintegration of the empire, a few feudatories and local chiefs gathered strength and importance in the areas of Karnataka. Prominent among them were the Keḷadi rulers and Woḍeyars of Mysore, who remaining steadfastly loyal to Vijayanagara, continued her traditions. Their account is given here briefly.

Keladi Rulers

(c. 1500-1763 A. D.)

Foundation

Keḷadi is now a small town in Shimoga district. In the Vijayanagara period it was the capital of a powerful feudatory

state whose Nāyakas served the empire with unswerving devotion and loyalty. The story of its foundation is like this:

Chauḍappa Gauḍa, a farmer of Keḷadi, found a treasure while ploughing his field. With the help of this treasure he made himself the chief of the village and gathered an army. His name soon reached the ears of the emperor of Vijayanagara (probably Krishṇadēvarāya) He sent for him, and recognizing his ability made him chief of the tract round about his village, conferring on him the title of Keḷadi Chauḍappa Nāyaka

Sadāśiva (1530-67 A. D)

His son Sadāśiva surpassed his father. He soon came under the notice of Aliya Rāmarāya who summoned him to the court of Vijayanagara. He was placed in charge of the Vijayanagara army in the war against Bijapur and he justified his selection by inflicting a crushing defeat on the army of Ibrahim Adil Shah I and capturing a large quantity of spoils Soon after, by his daring exploit he seized the fort of Kalyāṇa Sadāśiva also participated in the other campaigns of Rāmarāya. He was thereafter, conferred the title Immadi Sadāśiva along with the fief of Chandragutti, Mangalore and Bārakur regions. It was at this time that the capital was changed from Keladi to Ikkēri.

Venkaṭappa (1582-1629 A. D)

Venkaṭappa was an eminent ruler of Ikkēri Taking advantage of the fratricidal feuds in the Āravīḍu royal house he made himself independent. The Sultan of Bijapur sent a large army under his general Raṇadulla Khan against Ikkēri; but Venkaṭappa Nāyaka routed the enemy. Proceeding further he defeated Bhairādēvī, the queen of Gersoppa, who was the Sultan's feudatory. He had a tower of victory constructed at Hāngal as a memorial of this success. His kingdom extended to the western sea.

Himself a Vīraśaiva, Venkaṭappa was tolerant towards all other religions. He made munificent gifts to the Śringēri maṭha

and to the mosques of his Muslim subjects The Italian traveller, Pietro della Valle who toured in the kingdom during this period, gives a glowing account of the condition of the country. It was a matter of wonder to him that he did not see or hear of any cases of robbery or theft. In this reign the capital was transferred from Ikkēri to Bidnur.

Śivappa (1645–60 A D.)

Śivappa was another great ruler. He pushed his boundaries into the Mysore territory and extended his kingdom southward as far as the Hassan and Chikmagalur districts. He introduced a new land revenue system called *shist* and reformed the administration. Bidnur now became a busy and flourishing centre of trade When the last of the Āravīḍu kings, Śrīranga was defeated by the Sultan of Bijapur and fled from his state, it was Śivappa Nāyaka who sheltered him and placed him in charge of Bēlur and Sakrepaṭṭaṇa in his state It is refreshing to note that the Keladi rulers were one of the two feudatories of Vijayanagara, who remained loyal to the empire till the end.

End of Keladi (1763 A. D.)

Keladi lost its impotance after Sivappa Nāyaka. Bijapur conquered its northern territory which was later lost to the Marathas. The Woḍeyars of Mysore steadily pushed their boundary northwards into the Keladi kingdom. Thus reduced in power and possessions this state lingered on till the eighteenth century. Even in this condition the Keladi queen Rāṇi Channammāji (1671-97 A D) gave refuge to Śivāji's son Rājārām who had escaped from the clutches of Aurangazeb, and helped him to reach his territory in the south. Thus Keladi stood by her political companions, the Marathas, in a critical situation Keḷadi lost its entity in 1763 A. D. when Haidar Ali invaded it and seized its large treasure, which helped him to rise in power.

Period of Political confusion

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a period of rapid political changes and confusion in the history of India, in the north as well as in the south, and the events in the north had their repercussions in the south The Mughals after completing their northern conquests turned to the south from the time of Akbar. In the reigns of his grandson Shah Jahan and his son Aurangzeb, the three Muslim powers of the south, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkoṇḍa, succumbed one by one to the imperial policy of southern expansion and the Mughal paramountcy was pushed far into the south.

But soon this supremacy was effectively challenged by Śivāji who, inspired by the Vijayanagara ideals of preserving Hindu religion and nationalism, succeeded in carving out an independent Maratha state His plans of strengthening the Maratha power were carried forth by the Peshwas whose activities were directed more in the north than in the south The Marathas thus retained their position as a political power till the end of the eighteenth century

In the meanwhile two foreign trading companies, the English and the French, taking advantage of the political confusion, contended to establish their power in this country. Having ousted their rivals from the field, the English launched upon their political career. The Battle of Plassey of 1757 A. D. which crowned the English diplomacy and military strategy with success, inaugurated the era of their political ascendancy. By the turn of the century they became a power to reckon with.

Though endowed with noble ideals and loyalty to their suzerains, the Keladi rulers, for geographical reasons and on account of limitations, could not build up a strong Hindu national state in the south after the fall of Vijayanagara. The same was the case with the Marathas who did not steadfastly pursue their goal.

Wodeyars of Mysore

(1610-1950 A. D.)

Thus the only power left in the south to protect the interests of the Hindu population and its culture and traditions was Mysore. And Mysore was well fitted for this task. Among its rulers there were men of statesmanship and vision, kings as well as Diwans, and what is of greater moment, these rulers had a clear perception of what Karnataka had lost in the fall of Vijayanagara and considered it their duty to revive it. Thus it was that Mysore became the focal point of Karnataka's revival. It is this position which invests Mysore with special importance in the history of Karnataka.

Beginning of History (1610 A. D.)

Leaving out the legend, the real history of Mysore commences in the reign of Rāja Woḍeyar (1578-1617 A D.) who in 1610 A D. seized Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa, and whom the emperor of Vijayanagara accepted as Viceroy. By owing his allegiance to Vijayanagara and starting the princely ceremonies of the *Dasarā* festival, Rāja Woḍeyar showed to the people that the Woḍeyars had inherited what Vijayanagara stood for During his reign the kingdom was extended as far north as Channapaṭṭaṇa.

Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja (1638-59 A. D)

The next king of importance was Raṇadhīra Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja A ruler of remarkable abilities, he routed the army of Bijapur which invaded his country under the general Raṇadulla Khan Raṇadhīra then marched upon Koḍagu and captured Periyāpaṭṭaṇa. He was able to extend his kingdom all round, conquering places like Satyamangala and Daṇṇāyakanakōṭe in the south, Hosur in the north and Arakalguḍ and Beṭṭadapura in the west He forced Immaḍi Kempe Gauda of Bangalore to pay him tribute. He saved Mysore from powerful enemies from outside and extended his territories by new conquests. He put down disloyal subordinates with an iron hand and established peace and order in the country. He established a

mint and brought the Kanthīrava coins into circulation. When in 1646 A D. the Vijayanagara king Śrīranga sought refuge, he gave him protection

Doddadēvarāja (1659-72 A. D)

Doddadēvarāja was the next ruler. He continued the policy of expansion of the kingdom. He repulsed the invasion of the Nāyaka of Madura and captured Erode, Dhārāpura and a few other places in his territory. Śrīranga left Mysore and went to Śivappa Nāyaka of Keladi for shelter On the pretext of helping Śrīranga to recover his territories, Śivappa invaded Mysore. He was defeated and driven back, and Hassan, Sakrepattaṇa and other places were wrested from him and annexed to Mysore

Chikkadēvarāja (1672-1704 A. D.)

Chikkadēvarāja who succeeded, was well-fitted to advance the interests of Mysore. He took advantage of the triangular contest for southern expansion among the Mughals, Marathas and Bijapur, and extended the boundary of his kingdom in the north by conquering large parts of the present Chikmagalur, Hassan and Kadur districts. Bangalore had been wrested from the Marathas by the Mughal Viceroy, Kasim Khan Chikkadēvarāja induced this Mughal commander, to sell it to him for three lakhs of rupees. He saw that the end of the Deccan Sultanates was near and that his safety lay in keeping on good terms with the Mughal emperor So he befriended Kasim Khan Later, in 1699 he sent an embassy to Aurangzeb, who recognized his authority over the territories he held and gave him the title of Jug-Deo-Rāj (Jagadēva Rāya). The Mysore king next sent an army under his able general Kumārayya to the south, who after a long siege captured Trichinopoly.

Thus, under Chikkadēvarāja the Mysore state extended from the mountain ranges of Chikmagalur and Tumkur districts in the north to the Annamalai and Palani hills in the south and from Salem in the east to Bēlur and Kodagu in the west. He

assumed the imperial titles like Mahārājādhirāja. He was called Apratimavīra (unequalled warrior).

Critical Stage

Our narrative now enters into a critical stage as a result of the shifting political conditions in the north and in the south including Mysore. After the subjugation of Golkoṇḍa, the Mughal territories in the south had assumed vast proportions extending from the west to the east This area was divided into two provinces each under the control of a governor or Nawab, their headquarters being Sira and Arcot respectively. The latter province which comprised the coastal districts to the south of Madras, was named under misconception as Carnatic. After two Carnatic wars fought in this region against their French rivals, the English emerged victorious (1754 A D)

Having failed in their north Indian adventures with the debacle in the battle of Panipat (1761 A. D.), the Marathas directed their activities in the south, participating in the political rivalries The Nizam of Hyderabad who strengthened his position in the newly acquired kingdom, threw his weight in the strife that was going on amongst the parties. All these powers cast their covetous glances at the rich and resourceful possessions of Mysore and waited for opportunities to seize them.

Daḷavāyi Regime (1704-61 A D.)

Chikkadēvarāja's successors were weak rulers and therefore power was usurped by the Dalavāyis or 'Army Commanders'. In the time of Rāja Woḍeyar, when the administrative responsibilities became unwieldy, he had created the post of Dalavāyi and invested him with overall powers. The Dalavāyi acted as Chief Administrator under the king. But when the latter was weak the former domineered over his master.

This usurpation continued for a long time, bringing in its train greed, inefficiency and feuds among the subordinate chiefs

and officials. The treasury became empty and anarchy prevailed The enemies made inroads for power and plunder.

Rise of Haidar (1746-61 A D.)

In this chaotic state sprang forth the political genius of Haidar Ali. He was born in 1721 A D in a poor family, his father Fateh Muhammad being a soldier of fortune. Haidar's early life was full of hardships and he received no education. He remained illiterate till the end.

He entered service in the army as the last soldier and soon rose to prominence by his talent, ability and valour. He successfully participated in military operations and won popularity and recognition as a competent leader When the Marathas threatened the capital in 1758 A. D he warded off the danger by pacifying the state army and clearing off their arrears of pay For this act he was hailed as the saviour He forced the Dalavāyi dictator Nanjarāja into political retirement and crushed the conspiracy of his Diwan Khaṇḍe Rao against him. Thus Haidar became the supreme master of the state (1761 A. D.)

His Rule (1761-82 A D.)

Haidar ruled for over two decades and during this period he applied himself to the task of establishing internal security and order and improving the lot of his subjects He chastised the rebellious chiefs and waged wars with the Nizam, Marathas and English who were jealous of his growing power. He developed bitter hatred against the English in particular. He fought two wars with them in 1769 and 1780 A D He extended the frontiers, consolidated the territories and elevated Mysore to the position of a foremost power Its boundaries stretched from the Kṛishṇā and Tungabhadrā in the north to Malabar and Coorg in the south. A completely self-made man, a great soldier, conqueror, administrator and statesman, Haidar occupies a unique place in the annals of Mysore and deserves an honoured place as one of the great personalities in the history of India.

Tipu Sultan (1782–99 A. D.)

Haidar's son Tipu became the ruler of Mysore after his father's death. Soon, he assumed the title of Sultan He was spirited and valourous and even rash and impatient to an extent. He inherited from his father the inveterate hatred of the English whom he longed to crush and rid the country of these alien intruders. For this purpose he sought the friendship of the French who in Europe and in India entertained hostile relations with the English. The English who, on their part, had taken big strides in rapidly building an empire of their own, viewed with great concern the spectacular rise of these two adventurous chiefs and determined to destroy this new menace

His Wars (1792 and 1799 A. D)

Tipu's rule started with fighting and so it ended Two of his major wars were fought with the English and in both of them his adversary was in league with the Nizam and the Marathas. On both these occasions, in spite of his stout opposition his capital Śrīraṅgapattana was besieged In the first war in which Tipu was defeated and humbled (22nd March, 1792 A. D.), he had to cede half of his territory and pay an indemnity of thirty three million rupees. In the second, he succumbed gallantly fighting to the last breath (4th May, 1799 A. D.)

Estimate

A fearless fighter and capable general, Tipu was a poor diplomat. By his lack of foresight and tactfulness he created enemies Though begotted, he was an enlightened ruler and made sincere efforts to improve his state. He constructed good roads and tanks and dams for irrigation He organized his army on the European model and enhanced administrative efficiency by Western methods Following the European example, he introduced new industries in Mysore and promoted trade and commerce by establishing factories outside the state. He sent commercial missions to Oman, Persia and Turkey.

Restoration of Woḍeyars

With the meteor-like rise and fall of Haidar and Tipu, the usurpation of Mysore throne ended. The rule of the Woḍeyar family which had survived in a suspended state for about four decades (1761–99 A. D.) was revived. Mummaḍi Krishṇarāja, the adopted son of the dowager queen Lakshammaṇṇi, now became king. As he was a boy of five, Purṇiah who was Diwan under Haidar and Tipu, carried on the administration.

Disintegration

The wars of Tipu adversely affected the unity of Karnataka. After the second and last war the three conquering powers, the English, Nizam and Marathas parcelled out the dominions of Mysore and annexed them to their territories. As a result of these territorial arrangements, which were subsequently slightly altered, Karnataka was vivisected and the Kannada people were drastically disintegrated. The coastal districts including Kanara were retained by the English. The north-eastern areas comprising the tracts of Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur were handed over to the Nizam. The northern parts constituting Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar districts were, after the fall of the Marathas, ultimately incorporated in the Bombay Presidency.

This division was fraught with dire consequences for the future of the Kannada people. Karnataka, which for centuries had possessed an individuality, a distinctiveness of its own, with a noble tradition and culture coming down from ancient times, was now split up arbitrarily without any consideration for its oneness. While in the north, Kannadigas lost their position under Maharashtra, those coming under the rule of the Nizam were suppressed under the impact of Muslim language, culture and traditions. Mysore was deprived of the coastal lands and the lack of access to the sea hampered its trade. Croog, the land of lovely landscape and big game, was retained by the British as a separate

Commissioner's province. The south-eastern and south-western parts were handed over to the Madras presidency and came under the sway of Telugu, Tamil and Malayali linguistic and cultural traditions. Kannadigas, once spread over a large part of south India, now had only the eight districts of Mysore to nourish their language, culture and traditions under the Mahārājas.

Aravidu Dynasty

- Āraviṭi Bukka
  - Rāmarāja
    - Śrīranga I
      - (Aḷiya) Rāmarāya
        - Pedda Tirumala
        - Śrīranga
          - Venkaṭapati II (1631-1642 A. D.)
          - Chinna Venkaṭa
            - Śrīranga IV (1642-1646 A D.), lived till 1681 A. D.
      - Tirumala I (1570-1578 A. D.)
        - Śrīranga II (1578-1586 A. D.)
        - Rāma
          - Tirumala
          - Śrīranga III (1614 A. D.)
            - Rāmadēva (1617-1632 A. D.)
        - Venkaṭapati I (1586-1614 A. D.)
      - Venkaṭādri

Keladi Chiefs

- Chauda Gauda (Chaudappa Nāyaka) (c. 1500-1530 A. D.)
  - Sadāśiva Nāyaka (Dodda Saṅkaṇṇanāyaka) (c. 1530-1567 A. D.)
    - Chikka Saṅkaṇṇanāyaka (1567-1582 A. D.)
      - Siddappanāyaka
        - Śivappanāyaka (1645-1660 A. D.)
          - Bhadrappanāyaka (1661-1663 A.D.)
          - Sōmaśēkharanāyaka I (1663-1677 A. D.) Md. Channammāji (1671-1697 A. D.)
            - (adopted son) Basappanāyaka I (1697-1714 A. D.)
        - Venkaṭappanāyaka II (1660-1661 A. D.)
    - Rāmarājanāyaka (1570-1582 A. D.)
    - Venkaṭappanāyaka I (1582-1629 A. D.)
      - Bhadrappanāyaka
        - Vīrabhadra (1629-1645 A. D.)

(adopted son)
Basappanāyaka I
(1697-1714 A. D.)
Sōmaśēkharanāyaka II
(1714-1739 A. D.)
Vīrabhadra
Basappanāyaka II
(1739-1754 A D.)
Md. Vīrammāji
(1756-1763 A. D.)
(Adopted son)
Channabasappanāyaka
(1754-1756 A. D.)
Sōmaśēkharanāyaka III

Woḍeyars of Mysore

(The names of the rulers are given in consecutive order)

Rāja Woḍeyar	1578–1617 A. D.
Chāmarāja	1617-1637 A. D.
Rāja Woḍeyar II	1637-1638 A. D.
Raṇadhīra Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja	1638-1659 A. D.
Doḍḍadēvārāja	1659-1672 A. D.
Chikkadēvarāja	1672-1704 A. D.
Kaṇṭhīrāva Narasarāja	1704-1713 A. D.
Doḍḍa Krishṇarāja	1713-1731 A. D.
Chāmarāja	1731-1734 A. D.
Chikka Krishṇarāja	1734-1766 A. D.
Nanjarāja	1766-1770 A. D.
Beṭṭada Chāmarāja	1770–1776 A. D
Khāsā Chāmarāja	1776–1796 A. D.
Krishṇarāja	1796–1868 A. D.
Chāmarāja	1868-1894 A. D.
Krishṇarāja	1894-1940 A. D.
Jayachāmarāja	1940-1950 A. D.

(became Rājapramukh of Mysore State thereafter)

CHAPTER XI

FREEDOM AND UNIFICATION

(1800-1956 A. D.)

I. Freedom

The history of Karnataka henceforth is closely linked up with the larger history of India

New Enemy

As the decades roll on, the English gain success after success in their diplomatic measures and tactful wars conducted against the hapless and divided rulers of India By 1857 A D. they become unquestionable masters of the entire subcontinent from end to end.

At the same time the cup of misfortune of Karnataka is filled to the brim and its parts are further sliced out and held by the winning parties. Oblivion overtakes the mind and memory of generations who lose consciousness of the great historical phenomenon that there flourished a stalwart race of epoch-making Karnatas who built empires and lived an exemplary life of lofty ideals and noble performances.

Overpowered by the subtle ways and shrewd methods of this new modern enemy who came from beyond the seas, India's rulers and the populace lay prostrate for some time; but soon they were roused to consciousness and made serious attempts to overthrow the conqueror in many regions during 1857-58 A. D. We shall presently deal with this freedom fight. But before that there took place a few incidents of resistance and challenge to the alien power, particularly in the province of Karnataka. We shall notice them first.

Torch of Freedom

Though the efforts of Haidar and Tipu to push out the foreigners had failed, they had lighted the torch of resistance leading to independence, which was kept burning by the freedom-loving generations of the Kannadigas.

The Doctrine of Lapse, Inam Commission and Arms Act were some of the devices introduced by the English for extending their power and tightening their hold on the kings and chieftains of India. Though their higher authorities professed to follow the policy of non-interference in the affairs of the native rulers, the unscrupulous local officers who did not favour such a policy, sought to exploit the situation to gain their ends.

After the suppression of the Maratha power, the victors realised that annexation of the territories ruled by hereditary Karnataka princes and chieftains was a political necessity, as north Karnataka especially contained a fighting race of remarkable tenacity and courage. Many such chiefs did not submit and rose against the new rule.

Heroic Women

Not men alone, but Karnataka women also stood by their side with ability and courage. As we have seen earlier many a member of the fair sex distinguised herself in several walks of life from an early period.

Beḷavaḍi Mallamma

Coming to the later times, we have the remarkable example of the undaunted Sāvitri or Mallamma, who, though widowed, heroically withstood for several days the forces of the conqueror Śivāji from her tiny fortress of Belavaḍi (near Belgaum) in 1678 A. D. The role of Rāṇi Channammāji of Keḷadi is noted above.

Rāṇi of Kittūr (1824 A. D.)

When the dowager Rāṇi Channamma of Kittūr state was refused permission to adopt a son after the death of her husband

Śivalingarudra Sarja by Thackeray, the Chief Political Agent and Collector of Dharwar, who cunningly manouvred to annex the principality, she bravely challenged the high-handedness of the English officer. Securing the support of her loyal and patriotic men, she opposed the English officer marching upon her with his troops. The enemy was killed and his contingent routed. Soon, however, Kittur was crushed by the superior power. But the spirit of freedom and heroism of the Rāṇi inspired her countrymen for long.

Rāṇi Channamma thus forestalled the great freedom fighter Rāṇi Lakshmībāi of Jhānsi (1858 A. D.) She was the first Indian woman to rise against the mighty British

Sangolli Rāyaṇṇa (1829–30 A. D.)

Rāyaṇṇa was a village watchman of Sangolli Deeply loyal to the chiefdom of Kittur and Rāṇi Channamma, he upheld the cause of the deprived ruling family and organised a formidable rebellion against the tyrannical English rule Moving like the wind and striking like the lightning, for four months Rāyaṇṇa waged harassing war against the English officers to whom he became a bugbear The power of the English could not conquer this popular leader. In the end, by a treacherous plot only he was captured and hanged.

Other Instances

In 1819 A D Zamindar Vīrappa rose in revolt in the Koppal area. Next year in 1820 A. D., a wide-spread insurrection broke out in the Bidar district. This is known as the Deshmukh rebellion In 1835 A D., there was a large-scale conspiracy to free Koḍagu (Coorg) and South Kanara from the alien domination. In 1841 A. D. a flare-up took place in the Bādāmi area

Freedom Struggle (1857–58 A. D.)

The English founded their empire in India not for the good of this nation. Self-aggrandizement and exploitation of the country's resources were their main objectives. Injustice, tyranny

and oppression of their bureaucratic rule soon became manifest in many ways. Consequently, dissatisfaction, frustration and unrest grew among the people and reached their climax in 1857–58 A.D.

In North India

The spirited soldiers and officers in the army, chiefs of the ruling families and patriotic leaders, all spontaneously and almost simultaneously stood up against the new regime in many regions of India. Though it was not a well-planned and well-organized uprise directed by foresighted central leadership, that it was a forceful and massive expression of the urge for freedom and revolt against foreign domination by a conquered nation was abundantly clear. Prominent among the doughty leaders of the movement in north India were Nānā Saheb, Tātyā Ṭōpi, Kunwar Singh and Rāṇi Lakshmībāi of Jhānsi.

In Karnataka

This freedom upheaval had its impact in Karnataka also. We cite a few instances

Bēḍars of Halagali

The Disarming Act which compelled every person bearing the arms to obtain a license, was deemed as an insult and encroachment on personal freedom by the hereditary warrior classes. Such were the Bēḍars (a class of hunters) of Halagali in the former Mudhol state. They refused to surrender their arms and revolted When troops were sent to quell the revolt, they turned every house into a bastion and fighting valiantly in self-defence, perished.

Rājā of Surpur

Rājā Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Surpur, a Bēḍar state, who was in league with the rebel leader Nānā Sāheb, was captured and convicted to imprisonment. He committed suicide, preferring death to disgrace at the hands of the enemy.

Nargund and Muṇḍargi

Doubly hit by the Arms Act and the Doctrine of Lapse, Baba Saheb of Nargund in Dharwar district lost all hope of retaining his hereditary fief in his family. He stirred up a revolt, but was caught and hanged. His mother and wife drowned themselves in the Malaprabhā. Baba Saheb's colleague, Bhīmarao of Muṇḍargi who hoisted the standard of rebellion at Koppal, died fighting.

Spirit Persists

The incidents narrated above are an indication of the fact that the spirit of heroism and sacrifice which was an outstanding trait of the Kannada people, persisted even though their land was split asunder and their individuality was suppressed by the adverse forces

Effects of the Struggle

The immediate outcome of the freedom struggle was the end of the rule of the East India Company which setting aside its original objective of trade, had seized political power. By a proclamation, the Queen of England and British Parliament directly took over the governance of India which became their dominion and dependency. The majority of princely states which had remained loyal to the English in the freedom struggle were continued in their former positions and possessions.

New Situations

The Queen's Proclamation claimed to be the Magna Charta, was a diplomatic move to pacify for the time being a perturbed nation. Though holding out the prospect of a benevolent rule at first, it soon disillusioned the people. No doubt, in the new set up Western education and contacts with the Western civilized world contributed to the progressive modernisation of India, but this brought along with it new evils. Influx of British officers, industrial magnates and vast imports intensified the foreign control and economic exploitation. At the same

time nearly one third of India under the feudal rule of the princely states became a stronghold of regressive and reactionary forces

New Epoch (1885–1920)

The British imperialistic rule in the second half of the nineteenth century created an awareness of national unity among the educated Indians who started the work of regenerating the heritage of their ancient, sacred land. The Indian National Congress established in 1885 A. D. was the result of this new awakening. This body undertook the task of harnessing the political aspirations and securing by constitutional methods the legitimate rights of a civilized nation for the peace-loving people.

Congress and Freedom Movement

This institution in the course of decades developed into a strong people's organization. It expanded its influence all over the country, enlisting the co-operation of patriotic leaders from all parts If the leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji and Justice Ranade invested it with status and dignity, B. G. Tilak, B C. Pal and Lajpat Rai imparted vigour and radical outlook to it in the early decade of the twentieth century Lord Curzon's invidious policy of dividing the Hindus and the Muslims and the partition of Bengal caused countrywide convulsion. The agitation was intensified by the Svarājya-Svadēśi-Boycott and National Education movement sponsored by Tilak who declared that Svarājya is our birthright and we shall have it.

Gandhi and Independence (1920–47 A. D.)

When Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the political scence in 1920 A. D., the first world war had ended and still India remained servile. The two Reforms Acts of the British had failed to satisfy the fully awakened Indian nation He forged new, completely non-violent weapons to fight against the British rule. These were Non-cooperation and Satyāgraha or Civil Disobedience movements which culminated in the No-tax campaign and Quit

India ultimatum (1942 A. D.). All attempts to win over the leaders proved futile. The rulers realised that they could no longer hold this country under their control. Hence the British Parliament finally passed the Act of India's independence (1947 A. D.)

Role of Karnataka

From the beginning, in all these movements and struggles for the liberation and throughout the sacrifices and sufferings which they entailed, Karnataka whole-heartedly cast her lot with the rest of India and steadfastly stuck to the goal. The Kannadigas always rushed to the forefront and plunged in the thick of the fray Their sacrifices and sufferings for the cause of India's freedom were equal to those of any other province. These observations are broadly applicable to the Karnataka areas included in the provinces of British India. As for Mysore and Hyderabad Karnataka the conditions were different, which will presently be noted.

In Mysore

Kṛishṇarāja III of the former Woḍeyar family was installed on the Mysore throne after the fall of Tipu (1800 A. D.). On the plea of maladministration and disorder in the state, the Governor-General took over its governance and appointed Commissioners to be in direct charge of the administration. The Commissioners' rule lasted for fifty years from 1831 to 1881 A. D. As a result of the various improvements carried out during this period, Mysore was largely modernised and emerged as an orderly, peaceful and well-administered state After this period the rule of the Woḍeyars was restored and Chāmarāja X became the ruler (1881 A. D.). He passed away in 1894 A. D., and his successor Kṛishṇarāja IV was enthroned in 1902 A. D., when he attained majority. After a long and glorious reign of thirty eight years this prince expired in 1940 A. D. He was followed by Jayachāmarāja who continued to rule till the Constitution of India came into force in 1950 A. D. Subsequently, he was appointed Rājapramukh of the state in the new set up.

Minor Edict of Aśōka; Koppal, Raichur District

Nāga Image with Brāhmi inscription,
Banavāsi, North Kanara District

PLATE II

Copper-plate grant of Mangalarāja, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar

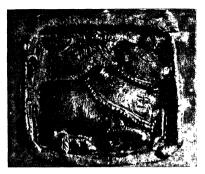
PLATE II

Inscription of Pulakēśi II, Aihole, Bijapur District

Inscription of Pulakēśi I; Bādāmi, Bijapur District.

A Kannada inscription of 13th Century, Bidar, Bidar District.

Varāhalāñchhana of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi,
Aihole, Bijapur District.

Royal emblem of the Gangas,
Copper-plates, Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar.

Royal emblem of the Kalachuris,
Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar

Royal emblem of the Sēunas,
Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar

Royal Emblem of the Kadambas of Goa,
Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar.

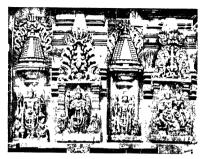
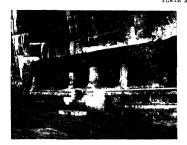
Royal emblem of the Hoysalas,
Bēlur, Hassan District.

PLATE VIII

Varāhā — Later Chālukya period,
Basava Kalyāna, Bidar District

Kēśava — Later Chālukya period;
Hiremanur, Gulbarga District.

Lady writing an inscription, Jalasangvi, Bidar District.

PLATE X

Sculptures on the wall of Chennakēśava Temple,
Bēlur, Hassan District

Narasimha,
Hampi, Bellary District.

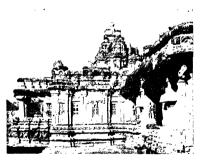
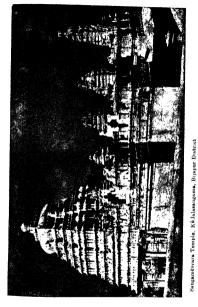
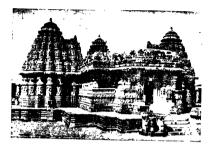
Vaishṇava cave temple, Bādāmi, Bijapur District.

Virūpāksha temple, Paṭṭadakal, Bijapur District.

PLATE XII

Kailāsanātha Temple
Ellora,
Aurangabad District

Mallikārjuna Temple,
Kuruvatti,
Bellary District.

Sangamēśvara Temple, Kūḍalasangama, Bijapur District

PLATE XIV

Kēśava Temple, Somanathapur, Mysore District

Vijayaviṭṭhala Temple, Hampi, Bellary District.

Fort, Daulatabad, Aurangabad District.

Fort, Mudgal, Raichur District.

Reforms and Progress

As a consequence of the liberal outlook and reformist zeal maintained by the rulers, Mysore derived the benefits of benevolent administration fairly in advance of other parts. As early as 1881 A. D. Diwan Rangacharlu convened a Representative Assembly of public leaders and took them into confidence By introducing the system of election in the above body, Diwan Seshadri Iyer placed it on a democratic footing His memorable regime of eighteen years (1883-1901 A D) earned for Mysore the reputation of a progressive state. During his Diwanship (1912-18 A. D) M Visvesvarayya contributed to allround development including the expansion of self-governing institutions. From 1924 A. D the Legislative Council and Representative Assembly reconstituted on democratic lines were given a statutory status Not satisfied with such constitutional but slow reforms the public of Mysore agitated for more rights and power as in British India. Soon after the attainment of Indian independence on 15th August 1947 A. D. the Mahārāja had to yield to the Mysore Congress demand to establish Responsible Government in the state (October 24)

Hyderabad Karnataka

The Hyderabad State was a stronghold of British imperialism. The Nizam supported by Muslim aristocracy carried on his feudal autocratic rule. The suppressed majority of Hindu population enjoyed no civil liberties. Though late, the impact of freedom movement outside came over the people of this state also. The State Congress was formed in 1938 A. D. Notwithstanding the unscrupulous repressive measures adopted, like banning, *lathi*-charging, firing and jailing, the people's movement gathered strength and momentum. At last, by the Police Action of the national India Government (13th September 1948 A. D.) the Nizam was forced into submission. Hyderabad acceded to the Indian Union and became an integral part of the Indian Republic. The role played by the leaders, the youth and people of the Kannada areas of the state was commendable.

II. Unification

From the foregoing account it becomes evident that in regard to patriotic fervour and urge for freedom, as well as in their devotion and service to the cause, the Kannadigas were in no way less than their fellow countrymen of other parts of India. It may be added that women participated with men in large numbers in the epic non-violent war of independence.

No Homogenous Unit

However, a matter of great concern that exercised the minds of the thinking men speaking one Kannada language and inheriting the same cultural traditions, was that they had no homogenous unit of their mother land. If some of them belonged to Bombay, others were in Madras, a third group in Hyderabad and the fourth in Mysore. Such differences had resulted in unending difficulties, disadvantages and slackness in the matters of administrative and educational facilities and social and economic well-being The outsiders looked at a Kannada man either as a Madrasi, a Marathi, a Hyderabadi or a Mysorean and never a Kannadiga. Thus when freedom came to India, the jubilation was mixed with sorrow and despondency.

Historical Events

The forces of historical events, however, were shaping the destiny of Karnataka. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth, Kannadigas were made aware of the vast difference between their glorious past and their present plight. As a result of the progressive modern education, new methods of study and research into language, literature, history and culture came into vogue and impressive vistas of ancient and medieval history opened out before the discerning students.

Fillip to Demand

The leaders of the Indian National Congress, as early as 1920 A. D. formally recognized the need for giving a status to the impor-

tant regional languages of India, and to this end they reorganised provinces along linguistic lines for their administrative purpose. Consequently, Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee was established having jurisdiction over the Kannada areas. In 1924 A. D. was held at Belgaum amidst surging enthusiasm a momentous session of the Congress under the Presidentship of Mahatma Gandhi. It showed that the Kannada people as a whole stood like one man behind the new freedom fight of Gandhi. At the same time it clearly demonstrated the united will of all Kannadigas who were intent upon securing their own province and state. At this time was held the first Karnataka Unification Conference. The All Parties' Conference of 1928 A. D. favoured the formation of separate linguistic provinces like Andhra and Karnataka. This was approved by Pandit Motilal Nehru Committee. This provided a fillip to the demand for linguistic provinces everywhere.

Unification Movement

In Karnataka, the Vidya Vardhaka Sangha of Dharwar and the Karnataka Sanghas which soon sprang up in all important towns and cities served to arouse among the people interest in their language, literature, history and culture. The Kannada Sahitya Sammelana of 1923 A. D. explicitly demanded the formation of a separate Karnataka province. Attempts were made to raise the issue of a separate Karnataka province in the Central and Provincial Legislatures continuously between 1921 and 1935 A. D. The Karnataka Unification Conference was held at Belgaum in 1936 A. D. and on the 10th of October 1937 A. D. the Karnataka Unification Day was observed all over Karnataka.

Impetus

The *Karnatakagatavaibhava* by Alur Venkatarao helped the Kannadigas to understand their past glory. The Vijayanagara sexcentenary celebration of 1936 A. D. at Hampi, organized on

all Karnataka and even a wider scale contributed substantially to evoke among the Kannadigas Karnataka consciousness. Kannada newspapers and journals persistently stressed the need for unification. Outstanding among the leaders of Karnataka who worked for the unification, are Alur Venkatarao and Kadapa Raghavendrarao of the past generation and R R Diwakar and S. Nijalingappa of the present. The emotional stimulus necessary for popular agitation was provided by the poets like Huyilgol Narayanarao, D. R. Bendre and K. V. Puttappa

Congress Support

The Congress Working Committee as early as 1938 A. D. had resolved that the question of the formation of linguistic provinces would be taken up as soon as the Congress came to power. Gandhiji had supported the creation of a separate Karnataka province Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel who inaugurated the Karnataka Unification Conference held in Bombay in 1946 A. D. assured the people of Karnataka that, as soon as freedom was attained, the Government would immediately take up the reintegration of linguistic and cultural groups in the country.

Agitation

Freedom came in 1947 A. D., but the Karnataka province was slow in coming. There was agitation all over Karnataka. Soon after the General Elections of 1952 A. D, the Akhila Karnataka Rajya-nirmana Parishat convened a convention at Davangere, which demanded the immediate formation of Karnataka and the appointment of a Boundaries' Commission.

The Congress session of 1953 A. D held at Nanalnagar in Hyderabad, however, decided not to favour the formation of linguistic provinces beyond acceding to the demand for an Andhra Province But, the leaders of Karnataka were adamant about having an integrated Karnataka province.

Fazl Ali Commission

The Central Government had to appease them by appointing the Fazl Ali Commission (December 19_3 A. D). The Karnataka

Provincial Congress Committee submitted a memorandum to the Commission making out a case for the immediate formation of an integrated Karnataka province. On the recommendation of this Commission a united Karnataka province, named the Mysore State, came into being and it was inaugurated by the President of India on the first of November 1956 A. D.

Inside and Outside

In the new Mysore State were included the whole of old Mysore State, Kodagu, Bellary and South Kanara of former Madras Presidency, North Kanara, Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar districts of former Bombay Presidency and Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur districts of former Hyderabad State. However, some predominently Kannada areas have not been included: for instance, Rayadurg, Adavani, Alur and Madakasira taluks of Andhra Pradesh, Kasargod taluk of Kerala, Akkalkot, Jath and South Sholapur taluks of Maharashtra, the Nilagiris and a few areas in the Salem and Coimbatore districts of Tamil Nadu.

Bharata Rashtra

However, the problem of border areas purely on linguistic grounds is a difficult one. We have to take a rational view of it and calmly consider its various aspects including the claims of other linguistic units. It is impossible to conceive of a one language state and all states have always to accomodate linguistic and other minorities that do exist everywhere. Karnataka with her liberal outlook and broad sympathies, has always been tolerant and generous in religious and other matters. We have to satisfy ourselves and impress upon others the supreme reality that all states together form one nation, one people and one country, which is our dear Bharat. Our efforts should now be directed to make our Mother Bharat ever strong, united and prosperous. Above all is Bharata Rashtra.

INDEX

[Key to abbreviations: *au.*, author, *ca.*, capital; *ch.*, chief, *Chā.*, Chālukya, *co.*, country; *de.*, deity; *di.*, division, *do.*, ditto; *E.*, Eastern, *ep.*, epithet *f.*, family; *gen.*, general, *gov.*, governor; *Hoy.*, Hoysala; *k.*, king; *Kad.*, Kadamba, *Kal*, Kalachuri, *l.*, locality, *min*, minister; *mt.*, mountain, *myth.*, mythical; *n.*, name, *off.*, office, officer; *pl.*, place, *pr.*, prince, princess; *q.*, queen, *Rāsh.*, Rāshṭrakuṭa; *ri.*, river; *S.*, Sultan, *s. a.*, same as; *Śāta.*, Śātavāhana, *te.*, temple, *tit.*, title, *Vij.*, Vijayanagara, *wk.* work.]

A

B

L

Q

R

W

ERRATA

Only important corrections are listed here; omitting the obvious misprints.

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
6	12	*Karkarāisya*	*Karkarājasya*
15	3	*Sāhasabhīmāvijaya*	*Sāhasabhīmavijaya*
18	12	Ṭhāṅēśvara	Thānesar
21	17	*Tazkiral-ul-mulk*	*Tazkirāt-ul-mulk*
26	14	Kāḷī	Kālī
34	7	Kallūr	Haḷḷūr
35	17	Neevasa	Nevasa
40	20	Sagara	Sāgara
43	20	*Karṇa* and *nāṭa*	*Karaṇa* and *Naṭa*
43	31	*Kāru-*	*Karu-*
47	35	'*Sāta*'	'*Śāta*'
48	8, 10	Śātavāhana	Sātavāhana
50	18	*Āsvamēdha*	*Aśvamēdha*
77	22	to 405	and 405
133	30-31	lead ong	leading
144	23	790	780
144	24	a decade	two decades
176	6	Bhīmārathī	Bhīmarathī
228	4	1192-1197 A. D.	1192-1199 A. D.
304	11	ineonoclastic	iconoclastic